Cannibal Encounters

EUROPEANS AND ISLAND CARIBS, 1492–1763

Philip P. Boucher

VISIT…

Cannibal Encounters

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Philip P. Boucher

The Johns Hopkins University Press
BALTIMORE

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper

Johns Hopkins Paperback edition, 2008
9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

The Johns Hopkins University Press
2715 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21218-4363
www.press.jhu.edu

Illustrations on pages 14, 19, 26, 46, and 78 courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University.
Illustrations on pages 34, 38, 44, 56, 62, 98, and 120 courtesy of The Newberry Library.
Illustration on page 124 courtesy of Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.

The Library of Congress has catalogued the hardcover edition of this book as follows:

Boucher, Philip P., 1944–
Cannibal encounters : Europeans and Island Caribs, 1492–1763 / Philip P. Boucher.
p. cm. — (Johns Hopkins studies in Atlantic history and culture)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-8018-4365-0
1. Black Carib Indians—First contact with Europeans. 2. Black Carib Indians—Government relations. 3. Black Carib Indians—History. 4. England—Colonies—Administration. 5. France—Colonies—Administration. 6. Indians in literature. I. Title. II. Series.
F1505.2.C3B68 1992
972.9'00497—dc20 91-47729

ISBN 13: 978-0-8018-9099-4
ISBN 10: 0-8018-9099-3

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

To my beloved wife, Mary, who brightens the passage

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Preface to the Paperback Edition

In the summer of 2007, as I read through the edited manuscript of my forthcoming book *France and the American Tropics to 1700: Tropics of Discontent?*, I was struck that the material in the new book describing the Island Caribs (or Kalinago) differed only very slightly from the discussion in my 1992 book with the Johns Hopkins University Press, *Cannibal Encounters: Europeans and the Island Caribs, 1492–1763*. At the risk of immodesty, I concluded that *Cannibal Encounters* had held up very well. And it occurred to me that the current revival of interest in the Atlantic World in the early modern era and the relative lack of materials in the English language focusing on the Caribbean, especially the French parts, might secure a place for *Cannibal Encounters* in university classrooms. Several of my colleagues who have used the hardcover edition in teaching have reported that students reacted positively to *Cannibal Encounters*. Thus, I was pleased when the Johns Hopkins University Press decided to reissue the book in a paperback edition with this new preface, which includes an account of work published in the area since 1992. Naturally, I hope that far greater numbers of students will now have access to this book.

The reviews of *Cannibal Encounters* in the 1990s were largely favorable; to be sure, some anthropologists indicated that the treatment of Island Carib culture was not up to their standards. As I am not an anthropologist or even an ethno-historian, no doubt there is something to their critiques, though they lacked specificity. A major problem impeding greater understanding of Island Carib culture is the lack of post-1492 sites in which to conduct archaeological research. (See, e.g., André Delpuech, "Historical Archaeology in the French West Indies: Recent Research in Guadeloupe," in Paul Farnsworth, ed., *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean* [Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001].) This archaeological deficit leaves scholars overly dependent on primary written sources from the period. In a book review that did identify a specific problem, one critic rather vociferously complained that my distinguishing Island Caribs from Black Caribs on eighteenth-century St. Vincent distorted the ethnic situation. Perhaps, but island officials certainly remarked on the hostility between these groups. In any case, *Cannibal Encounters* is really about the relationship between Europeans and these Native American people. Questions of interpretation aside,

as far as I know, no one has pointed out any significant factual errors in *Cannibal Encounters* and thus I am willing to see it reprinted as it is.

As mentioned above, valuable publications have appeared since *Cannibal Encounters* was first published. In 1992 Peter Hulme and Neal Whitehead edited a magnificent collection of primary materials about the Island Caribs titled *Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1992). It was gratifying to see in Paul Henley's review essay in the *Times Literary Supplement* that the reader of *Wild Majesty*'s primary sources should have *Cannibal Encounters* nearby "to contextualize them." In 1992 also appeared two works in French complementary to parts of *Cannibal Encounters*. Gérard Lafleur, *Les Caraïbes des Petites Antilles* (Paris: Karthala, 1992), is an acceptable synthesis *faute de mieux*; Jean-Pierre Moreau, *Les Petites Antilles de Christophe Colomb á Richelieu* (Paris: Karthala, 1992), is very useful on Spanish–Island Carib relations in the sixteenth century and is well informed on Spanish archival material. More recently, Laurence Verrand, *La Vie quotidienne des Indiens Caraïbes aux Petites Antilles (XVIIe siécle)* (Paris: Karthala, 201), is a useful compendium of quotations from seventeenth-century primary sources on Carib customs and beliefs. Verrand assumes implicitly that when European sources were in agreement, we can be fairly certain of their accuracy, which some critics would dispute. The reader of French desiring useful quotations without the bother of reading the accounts themselves should look to Verrand's book. In the first chapter of Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), there is nothing objectionable on French–Island Carib relations, but it is a difficult text. These are not the only publications to have appeared since *Cannibal Encounters*, but they are the major ones.

Scholars of the Atlantic World have not adequately exploited some key conclusions of *Cannibal Encounters*. I believed that my analysis of English and French relations with the Island Caribs would help explicate European and Native American relations in continental North America. Most contemporary historians utilize structural rather than cultural analyses to explain why New France habitants had better relations than other Europeans with most Native American Groups. New France was economically dependent on the Indians for furs and military security, and thus had a greater incentive toward more humane relations. English colonists to the south, greedy for Native American lands and largely unconcerned with converting the native inhabitants, drove them west or into reservations.

In the Caribbean, cohabitation on small islands led to conflicts between Europeans and Island Caribs, and especially to French–Island Carib conflicts because French habitants colonized Martinique and Guadeloupe, islands with a heavy Native American presence. Neither French nor English

looked to the Caribs for critical commodities to trade, though a minor trade existed. By 1660, after some bitter wars, the Island Caribs had to accept an offer of reservation islands at Dominica and St. Vincent to secure peace. Thus, economic issues—the European desire for tobacco and sugar lands—were a major factor in European–Island Carib relations. Nevertheless, I argued that cultural factors allowed the French to acquire Island Carib support after 1660. Missionaries worked among the Caribs; traders who I call *coureurs des îles* sometimes lived among the Caribs, knew their language, and sometimes "married" their women; and colonial militia impressed the Caribs with their military valor (in contrast to apparent Indian contempt for the pusillanimous English). Surely this analysis is germane to scholars of European–Native American relations in New France and British colonial North America.

Once again I dedicate this book to my beloved wife, Mary, and also to grandson Henry Countess, whose arrival in 1997 brightens my life.

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Preface

FIRST, A WORD about the title of this book, *Cannibal Encounters*. It is meant as a modest tribute to Peter Hulme's superlative *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492–1797*. Some five years after beginning research for my book, the initial shock of reading Hulme's brilliant analysis of some of *my* issues and themes soon gave way to thanks. Although I am grateful for the work of many scholars, I am most in debt to Professor Hulme.

There is a good deal of narrative history in this book, especially in Chapters Two, Three, and Four. That calls for an explanation because contemporary historiography is uneasy about chronological narration and because some readers may question the extent of "story telling" in the book. My response is that the analysis of Euro-Carib relations cannot be separated from a narrative simply because the "story" of these relations has not been told or told adequately. A narrative becomes imperative when none is available to the reader to help evaluate the interpretive sections.

When a project like this one has germinated over a ten-year period, it accrues many debts. During the summers of 1981, 1982, and 1989, grants from the American Council of Learned Societies, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities (N.E.H.) permitted archival research in London, Paris, and Aix-en-Provence. An N.E.H. Summer Seminar for College Teachers at my alma mater, the University of Connecticut, helped to refreshen my knowledge of the Colonial American period and made possible an early and useful critique of part of the manuscript by Dr. Karen Kupperman. Although I have not always found it possible to follow her sage advice, I owe her many thanks. Grants from the John Carter Brown Library and from the University of Alabama in Huntsville made possible extensive reading in the printed primary sources at the Newberry, Beinecke, and John Carter Brown libraries. Thanks to all the scholar-friends, too many to name, who wrote letters of reference to granting institutions. Special thanks to Norman Fiering and the staff of the John Carter Brown Library for innumerable helpful services. Dr. Fiering was the first to recommend the Johns Hopkins University Press as the proper publishing outlet for the manuscript. Susan Danforth offered valuable advice and timely assistance concerning the illustrations. It should be obvious that this book would not have come into existence without the support of these institutions and people.

A number of scholars have read all or part of the manuscript, but none so closely, trenchantly, and irreverently as my good friend James Pritchard. This superb critic will recall the 10 percent of his suggestions I was not able to incorporate instead of the 90 percent I did! Although acquainted only by letters and telephone calls, the anthropologist Robert Myers assisted greatly in reformulating and strengthening the Introduction. He not only suggested readings but, when alerted to how woefully deficient my university library is, sent me copies of difficult-to-obtain materials! Other readers who have earned my sincere gratitude are Olive Dickason, my colleague John Pottenger, and anonymous reviewers for the Johns Hopkins University Press. Their comments and suggestions were all useful; even those I did not accept promoted rethinking of the issues addressed. Robert Forster, a fine scholar and, more importantly, a wonderful man, provided criticism, advice, and help during the last stages of this project. Needless to say, all remaining errors of commission, omission, and interpretation are the author's alone.

I owe thanks to many people at the University of Alabama in Huntsville, especially Dr. Carolyn White and a graduate student, Nick Douglas, for bibliographical assistance. My former chairman, John White, made available the office staff, especially Beverly Robinson, for a variety of tasks. Many people at the library did their best under difficult circumstances to assist me. Finally, I want to thank my Spanish teacher and *buen amigo,* Dr. Mañuel Cachan. He reminded me by example of the difference a superb teacher can make.

It has been a pleasure to work with the competent, gracious, and patient people at the Johns Hopkins University Press, and most especially with my editor, Jacqueline Wehmueller.

Finally, my gratitude and love go out to my family. My children, Amanda, Andrew, and Alexander, have invariably taken their summer "vacation" excursions to locations adjacent to major research libraries. The dedication of this book to my wife, Mary, is quite literally a token of my appreciation for her support of this endeavor and for her love.

Cannibal Encounters

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Introduction

REFERRING TO THE persistent Anglo-French disputes concerning their Caribbean possessions, the eighteenth-century historian Bryan Edwards asserted: "The disputes and hostilities, which these attempts of the English on the one hand, and resistance of the French on the other, gave rise to, in this part of the world, are no longer interesting, and therefore need not to be brought again to remembrance."[1] The reader will have to evaluate this judgment after reading the following pages devoted to these conflicts. Special reference is made to the role played by the aborigines of the Lesser Antilles in these European imbroglios. Unlike the French or the English, the Island Caribs suffered near-extinction as a result of European colonization and subsequent wars; if for no other reason, these "colonial encounters"[2] deserve to be "brought again to remembrance."

In five chapters, this volume covers the complex relationships of Europeans and aborigines in the Lesser Antilles during a period of more than two centuries, from 1492 to 1763. These chapters present a basic narrative of events as well as an analysis of European images of "Caribs." The initial chapter discusses events prior to the 1620s occupation of St. Christopher (now St. Kitts). The "heroic" period of European occupation, between 1623 and 1660, when the English and especially the French removed the aborigines from most of the major islands, is the subject of Chapter Two. The next chapter evaluates the pivotal years between 1660 and 1688, by which time the French had forged a firm alliance with most of the Island Caribs. The fourth chapter examines the decline of the aborigines in the context of Anglo-French conflicts, 1689–1763. The final chapter analyzes the continuing interest in these "cannibals" among European intellectuals from the 1660s to the 1760s.

Two flaws characterize previous historical works concerning these issues and events. The first is the failure of earlier historians to move beyond national perspectives. British historians such as C.S.S. Higham, Vincent Harlow, and Alan Burns, though they had the great merit of knowing the English archives, were unfamiliar with French manuscript sources[3]—and vice-versa, as exemplified by the work of Joseph Rennard.[4] The second deficiency concerns these scholars' perpetuation of long-held stereotypes of "Caribs." For example, the fine historian Higham refers to them as savages, while Harlow ascribes the slow pace of English colonization to, among other factors, the "treachery of native tribes."[5] It was only in the

1970s and 1980s that such persistent prejudices receded before the questions and criticisms of anthropologists, archaeologists, and ethnohistorians, whose work will be discussed below.

DESPITE BEING ONE of the most famous Amerindian groups, remarkably little is known for certain about the Island Caribs. These people, who in historical times inhabited the arc of the Lesser Antilles from Grenada north to St. Kitts, left no writing. Much more surprising, archaeologists are not at all agreed about what constitutes Island Carib ceramics as opposed to that of prehistoric island inhabitants.[6] Modern linguists have demonstrated that these "Caribs" spoke a predominantly Arawakan language, with only males in specific circumstances using elements of Cariban languages.[7] The people that Europeans labeled *Carib,* a generic term meaning brave warrior or perhaps bitter manioc eaters, called themselves *Kallinago* or *Kalipuna.*[8] Given these anomalies, it is not surprising that some recent scholars seriously question whether the aborigines of the Lesser Antilles were a people distinct from the inhabitants of the Greater Antilles or those of the South American coast.[9]

Who, then, were the Island Caribs? Until recently, the accepted explanation was that of seventeenth-century French Dominican missionaries, who said they were passing on Carib responses to inquiries about their origins; to wit, that the *Caribs* were an offshoot of the *Galibis* of the Guianan coast, who had, some unknown centuries before, island-hopped north along the Lesser Antillean chain, destroying Arawakan male inhabitants and taking their females as wives or slaves. The missionaries believed that this account explained the curiously different languages of the sexes, the males speaking a Cariban dialect. Though modern scholars insist upon the largely Arawakan character of both Island Carib languages, the Cariban linguistic remnants are still explained within this assumed historical context.

Despite the remarkable tenacity of this traditional thesis, some recent students of the question have attempted to modify or even discard it.[10] They point out that Caribs of St. Vincent and Guadeloupe recounted more or less different stories concerning their origins than the aborigines of Dominica, the source of Father Raymond Breton's work and that of his successor missionary-authors.[11] The anthropologist Louis Allaire, a prominent recent critic of the traditional viewpoint, uses the varying accounts of origin myths to conclude that "it is impossible to select one version as being more historically accurate." He challenges the generally accepted view of the connection between Suazoid cultural sites (eleventh to fifteenth centuries A.D.) and the Island Caribs. Employing the very limited evidence available, Allaire asserts that Island Carib pottery belongs rather to the Kalina complex typical of the Guianan coast. Because specific

Kalina–Island Carib archaeological sites have yet to be found, Allaire posits a late arrival of Caribs in the Lesser Antilles just a generation or two before Columbus; or, alternatively, that a rapid acculturation of Arawakan-speaking populations by Kalina warriors and traders occurred.

In the first hypothesis, that of a Kalina (i.e., *Carib*) invasion, the disappearance of Suazoid ceramics would seem to indicate the elimination or withdrawal of the previous population; if so, however, how does one then explain the predominantly Arawakan character of the Island Carib languages? There is no archaeological evidence at Suazoid sites to support a conquest scenario. In the second case, that of rapid acculturation, Allaire addresses the obvious problem of what happened to Suazoid pottery after c. 1450 by hypothesizing that Kalina male immigrants took over this function from Suazoid women. This acculturation hypothesis would explain the lack of archaeological evidence supporting a sudden Carib conquest, the existence of Cariban elements in Arawakan-based Island Carib men's language, and the predominance of the male language in pottery terminology. Most recently Allaire has hypothesized that the Suazey, feeling Carib pressure "over the horizon, migrated en masse either to the continent or to the Greater Antilles, where presumably the related Taino would have integrated them."[12]

Many questions have arisen about Allaire's remarkable, provocative, and sometimes contradictory revisionist hypotheses. His discussion of historical accounts of Island Carib origin myths is not entirely satisfactory, as can be demonstrated by comparing C. J. M. R. Gullick's more sophisticated and thorough approach. Although Gullick agrees that the multiplicity of origin myths precludes the possibility of determining one or another as historically accurate, he emphasizes the common elements—for example, all of the myths connect the Island Caribs to northern South America.[13]

Allaire is not flawless in weighing the historical sources involved. Even though La Borde lived in the 1650s among the aborigines as a missionary and presumably spoke their language, Allaire uses Rochefort's 1658 account for the St. Vincent myths. Gullick shows that Rochefort's version, which places Caribs in the islands prior to the Arawaks, is not compatible with archaeological evidence.[14] On the other hand, La Borde's version is reasonably compatible with the Dominican accounts. Also, Allaire cites the late work of Sir William Young (1791) as the source for another version of Island Carib origins, although according to Gullick, Young did not hear it directly from a Carib. In sum, Allaire uses the reporting of different myths to undermine Father Breton's version of Carib origins, as if all historical sources were equal. However, no European (certainly not Rochefort who, after dismissing Carib traditions, claimed they came from "Florida!") was ever closer to a group of Island Caribs or knew the lan-

guage better than Breton, whose magnificent manuscripts and dictionary are still the basis of all modern studies. Notably, the modern reviver of Carib studies, Douglas Taylor, finds Breton far more reliable than Rochefort on Carib culture. Furthermore, Taylor and another noted linguist, B. J. Hoff, "believe that it is impossible to explain the available linguistic data unless one accepts the native tradition that there has been such an invasion." They view the male language of the Island Caribs as a compound of Arawakan elements and a Carib pidgin also spoken by the Galibis of the mainland. In their estimation, this linguistic evidence and the historical fact that a common motivation among warriors of northern South America was the acquisition of women argue strongly for the traditional viewpoint of a pre-Columbian invasion and conquest.[15] To reiterate, however, Allaire counters such arguments by citing the lack of archaeological evidence for a conquest scenario.

As for Allaire's evaluation of the historical evidence concerning which sex fabricated Carib ceramics, similar problems of historical judgment arise. To counter the strongly stated assertion of La Borde that the Carib men of St. Vincent considered pot-making unworthy of their sex, Allaire juxtaposes what he admits to be the ambiguous testimony of Rochefort as well as that of Father Biet, who claimed that the Galibi men of the Guiana coast were the potters. Yet Allaire also demonstrates that Rochefort was almost certainly mistaken about how Island Caribs fashioned their ceramics. As for Biet, he was in Guiana for a relatively brief period and probably had less experience among the aborigines than did La Borde. Even assuming Biet's statement to be accurate, his view would not necessarily be germane to Island Caribs, especially if they were indeed the conquering warriors of tradition. As Allaire himself notes, ceramics fabrication in the Caribbean was traditionally a feminine occupation. The fact that one of the few iconographic sources on Island Carib pottery depicts a Suazoid vessel only further complicates this vital issue.[16]

As noted above, modern scholars have demonstrated that Arawakan linguistic elements were much more prevalent in Island Carib than Breton had believed. If "Caribs" were the conquering warriors of their boastful myths, why did they largely abandon their Cariban dialect, save for ritualized remnants? Does the traditional view need to be jettisoned because of this linguistic anomaly? Perhaps, but there are other possible explanations for the Arawakan dominance in Island Carib. If the Caribs were conquerors, the need to teach the maternal language to children of both sexes would have been a major factor. Also, in historical times Island Caribs received constant infusions of Arawakan-speakers. Some of these were prisoners of war from the Greater Antilles; others, especially those from Puerto Rico, were refugees from Spanish persecution. Island Caribs, their

numbers thinned by Old World diseases and by Spanish slave traders, no doubt integrated, especially the Arawakan women.

Gullick's hypothesis concerning the language problem should also be considered. He plausibly speculates that small numbers of male Carib/Galibi (Kalina) warriors migrated to the Arawakan-dominated Lesser Antilles and there intermarried. Except for a remnant still valuable for contacts with their Galibi relatives, their Cariban language was gradually lost, while their "Carib" traditions were passed on to their mixed offspring. Thus, migration, not invasion, explains the anomalies and mysteries surrounding these peoples.[17] Gullick's hypothesis is not incompatible with Allaire's most recent views (1984, 1987, 1990), although, if the latter's view of Carib ceramics is correct, Gullick would also have to accept that Carib males took over the task of ceramics fabrication.

Very recently, in a brilliant dissection of the hallowed Carib/Arawak typology of Caribbean peoples, Peter Hulme accepted the view of Jalil Sued Badillo that those labeled "Carib" by Columbus did not differ ethnically from their "Arawak" enemies. According to Hulme, the inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles had not developed the more sophisticated agricultural economy of the larger islands and concomitantly the more complex political entities known as *chiefdoms*. The less-organized inhabitants of the Lesser Antilles found their more sedentary and wealthy neighbors to the west to be tempting targets. Nonethnic enmities thus arose between economically and politically differentiated peoples. The bitterness felt by the Greater Antilles "Arawaks" toward their predatory eastern neighbors was transmitted to Columbus. He and subsequent European writers were then responsible for grossly magnifying the differences between "Caribs" and "Arawaks," names not used as ethnic identifiers by the aborigines themselves. And so, once again, the colonized came to accept typologies fashioned by the colonizers. Hulme's hypothesis, as imaginative and attractive as it is, rests on admittedly slender evidence. Regrettably, he is neither familiar with other recent hypotheses, such as those of Allaire, Taylor and Goff, and Gullick, nor did he consult the absolutely essential *Proceedings of the International Society for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures in the Lesser Antilles*. Allaire especially has criticized the Sued Badillo thesis and, by extension, Hulme's, reaffirming the case for separate ethnic identities of "Caribs" and "Arawaks."[18]

Given the slender archaeological, linguistic, and historical evidence, not much can be said for certain about Island Carib origins. According to Allaire's convincing chronology, there was evidently some mixture of Cariban and Arawakan-speaking people, most probably in the fifteenth century. Even if migration and acculturation, not conquest, is the probable explanation, given the lack of archaeological indicators of sudden turmoil,

it seems certain that Kalina males somehow gained predominant positions in island society. Nevertheless, according to Hulme's convincing argument, the final historical dichotomization of Caribbean aborigines into "Arawaks" and "Caribs" was largely an imposition of the European invaders. It is not at all strange that Columbus and his successors' designation of the word *Carib,* meaning valiant warrior, should in time be accepted as a self-ascription by the peoples of the Lesser Antilles.

In historical times, did the Island Caribs view themselves as one people? For one thing, they had no unitary government. Each unit or village, usually encompassing 30 to 100 individuals, was largely self-governing, under the authority of a "captain," or headman. Yet Carib men, especially the revered "captain," had wives in other villages and, indeed, on other islands. And in a host of activities—weddings, funerals, pirogue (large canoes, about 50 to 55 feet in length) construction, and most especially in war—cooperation was frequent, although it could not be coerced.[19] If some evidence suggests slight linguistic barriers among the groups, much more documentation points to the existence of significant cooperation. In sum, although the Island Caribs were not a nation in the modern sense—a cause of much misunderstanding—they probably shared as many cultural characteristics as did the ancient Greeks.

Do Island Caribs deserve their reputation as insatiable cannibals? Indeed, were they man-eaters at all? Two decades ago, such questions—especially the second—would not even have arisen. Literary evidence, especially European recordings of Carib boasts of tormenting and eating their enemies, seemed to point in only one direction.[20] Island Caribs in historical times made systematic raids on their enemies, especially the "Arawaks" ("Inibis" to Caribs) of the South American mainland, of Trinidad, and of the Greater Antilles for the purpose of obtaining female "slaves" and, according to European sources, male victims for their barbecue pits. In the last ten years, however, William Arens has attacked the very notion of cannibalism, calling it a myth generated to enslave or otherwise oppress a hostile "other."[21] Inspired by Arens and the Puerto Rican scholar Sued Badillo, Neil Whitehead reexamined the historical evidence for South American Carib cannibalism. He cautions that all such Spanish accusations must be understood within a context of "imperial propaganda" and seen as "self-serving," because cannibals were the sole Amerindians subject to enslavement.

Whitehead argues, however, that just because Spanish sources must be evaluated with a skeptical caution they should not be dismissed—especially those writers who, though sympathetic to Caribs, argued that their cannibalistic practices were limited to occasional consumption of prisoners of war and were thus a minor aspect of their culture. In addition, Whitehead claims that there were in fact English, French, and Dutch

observers who, while not sharing Spanish bias or self-interest, attested to the existence of cannibalistic practices.[22] Interestingly, Whitehead does not discuss the firsthand account of the French Dominican Raymond Breton, which Robert Myers considers the only credible French source on Island Carib cannibalism. Whereas Whitehead largely ignores the Island Caribs, Myers reexamines the French accounts of them as a test case of the Arens thesis. He finds that only one eyewitness, Father Breton, claimed to have been present at a cannibal feast. Myers argues that neither linguistic nor archaeological evidence supports the existence of such practices among Island Caribs.[23] Reviewing this evidence, Peter Hulme concludes, as did Arens and Myers, that the case for Carib cannibalism is weak. He accuses historians and anthropologists of cultural blindness and ethnocentric gullibility.[24]

Then what about the fractured human bones found at some Carib archaeological sites? There is reason to believe that Caribs killed male captives in elaborate rituals, that they burned their captives' flesh and carried the ashes in small calabashes around their necks, ate the fat on certain occasions, and finally, used human bones to make flutes. They also preserved the bones of dead relatives. No doubt, such customs and practices fueled preexisting European fears. If one may suppose for a moment that Island Caribs were not cannibals, why would they, according to European literary sources, fabricate horrifying stories about their consumption of captives, especially since they often vehemently protested when Europeans accused them of man-eating? This is a difficult question, one that is not addressed by the revisionist scholars. (A speculative answer is that Island Caribs believed that these stories would give them such a ferocious reputation that Europeans would fear encounters with them.)

What is clear about the issue of cannibalism is that, starting with Columbus and the Spaniards, Europeans leveled grossly distorted charges of man-eating against potentially enslavable peoples who ferociously resisted incursions into their island homelands. Whatever the reality of Island Carib practices, Europeans created the myth of Caribs as ferocious, insatiable cannibals. As with some other peoples who resisted European incursions, Caribs found themselves saddled with this indictment. Patrick Baker argues that the "European view of the Carib . . . was the outcome of a dynamic political process. The question now changes. Do we understand the process?"[25] One of this book's major goals is to clarify that process.

Readers with anthropological and ethnographical interests will no doubt be disappointed that so many crucial questions about the Island Caribs remain unanswered. The inevitable result is that these aborigines almost always appear in subsequent pages as passive figures, acted upon rather than acting. While the reader (and I) would like to know what these people thought of Europeans and their ways, the lack of any but European

sources dictates caution. The Island Caribs have not left us resonances of uninterpreted voices. There was not even a Carib Garcilasso de la Vega. Perhaps only two or three of the Europeans who wrote of the Island Caribs could boast of lengthy living experiences among them.

Nevertheless, on the following question European texts do shed some light. Were Island Carib responses to European colonization determined more by particularistic cultural values or by universal, "practical" reason? Subsequent chapters demonstrate that these aborigines acted in recognizably rational patterns in their desire for superior technical apparatus, in their willingness and ability to play balance-of-power politics, and in their adaptation to European military techniques. Bruce Trigger's distinction between the period of initial contact, when cultural factors most influenced Amerindian responses, and a later period, when "rationalist calculations came to play a preponderant role," certainly seems compatible with the differing "Arawak" and "Carib" experiences with the Europeans.[26] The Island Caribs' refusal to accept religious and political—but not economic—hegemonization certainly prolonged their existence as an autonomous people.

WHILE THERE IS confusion about who these "Caribs" were, there is more certainty about the European identity. The great majority of northern Europeans who crossed to the Caribbean in these centuries were adventurers—pirates, merchants, and later, planters and paupers. Unlike the exceptional settlers of New England, these predominantly unmarried male Europeans were seeking to discover El Dorados, not to create new Edens.[27] Initially, they thirsted for gold and silver, most often at the Spaniards' expense, but later some of them increasingly found a surer path to wealth in tobacco and sugar. Very few brought wives and families, in part owing to Caribbean dangers but mainly because these men had no intention of settling permanently in the islands. A rapacious approach to the land meant trouble for everyone, especially Spaniards and aborigines, who stood in their path.

It is very difficult to ascertain the views of these European corsairs and colonists toward Island Caribs. Without much formal education, they were probably unaware of literate Europe's highly negative image of these aborigines, at least before the mid-seventeenth century. Because Caribs supplied northern European ships with food in exchange for iron goods and spirits, contacts were often civil and even cordial. A remarkable example of such amicable relations occurred during a ten-month period, between 1619 and 1620, when a group of shipwrecked French corsairs lived peaceably among Martiniquan "cannibals."[28]

Despite such cases of humane interactions, European adventurers, who were admittedly less traditionally religious than their relatives at home,

surely disdained most Island Carib customs. The aborigines' near nakedness stood in stark contrast to the heavy European clothing of that era and perhaps disquieted people accustomed to the interrelationship of social hierarchy and sartorial display. The tawny *(basané)* color of these aborigines clashed with the contemporary ideal of ashen white;[29] furthermore, their use of annatto *(roucou)* against the ravages of insects and sun produced a reddish color that led many a European to conjure up images of devils, especially when black paint around the eyes was added for certain ceremonies. Ear plugs, lip plugs, and scarification surely increased the uneasiness of these early European visitors. In addition, the Carib diet, which included such strange animals as iguanas, lizards, land crabs, and snakes, could hardly have been appetizing to Europeans, who believed that eating such foods was a cause of the savage condition. (How ironic that Caribs were also physiological determinists!) And what was the outsider to make of the brewing of *ouicou,* the Island Carib drink that depended on their women's spittle during the fermentation process? Or the eating of lice and other insects that offended their "hosts?"

Turning from food to life and death, what European would not laugh at the *couvade,* the practice of males going off to bed (hammock) for a prescribed number of days after each child's birth, while the mothers returned immediately to daily chores? Or the practice of polygyny accompanied by the killing of unfaithful wives? Or the Island Carib custom of burying people in the sitting position and killing their "slaves" in order that they have servants in the next life? So much of Island Carib culture was so utterly strange to European eyes that it is surprising occasionally to come across writers who overcame their social prejudices and achieved a measure of objectivity.

In general, Europe's educated elite viewed "Carib" culture even more negatively. From the time of Columbus, most European writers attacked "Caribs" as the archenemy of humanity, the basest of savages; in the words of Benzoni, not known for his harsh assessment of Amerindians, Caribs were "the bad boys of the Indies."[30] It bears repeating here that the objects of denigration in these books were not always Cariban speakers. Part, but only part, of this European indictment can be attributed to the Carib reputation as bloodthirsty man-eaters. After all, Michel de Montaigne could "understand" similar practices among his "cannibals," the Tupinambas, and the influential early seventeenth-century writer Pierre d'Avity did not consider cannibalism to be a criterion for measuring the barbarity of a people.[31] Furthermore, it was expected that exotic peoples at the far ends of the earth would engage in such practices, indeed worse ones than Caribs supposedly engaged in. In an era marked by sensational cruelties, Europeans may have been less offended by man-eating and wife-beating than one might suppose. In the final analysis, "Caribs" owed their bad name prin-

cipally to their fierce resistance to European conquest and enslavement.

Our understanding of literate Europe's images of Amerindians is confused by the idea that a significant school of opinion favorable to aboriginal cultures existed in early modern Europe. The concept of the noble savage, or primitivism, is in some measure a product of the imagination of nineteenth- and twentieth-century littérateurs (men of letters) and, more surprisingly, of historians.[32] The problem is one both of definition and of understanding the proper historical context for the texts in question. The term *noble savage* is an oxymoron for the centuries in question because the term *savage,* or *sauvage,* was rarely used in the neutral sense of wild as opposed to domesticated, natural as opposed to artificial. As Olive Dickason justly notes, *savage* had a connotation more of bestiality than of innocence, although a few exceptional Europeans, such as Montaigne, employed the word more or less neutrally.[33]

In terms of historical context, it may be stated flatly that the great majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century readers, and probably even those of the Enlightenment, did not approve of characteristics of Amerindian society (e.g., lack of, or minimal, social hierachy, absence of private property and money, nudity and sexual permissiveness—in short, a much greater area of freedom) that exponents of the noble savage concept assumed they would. Some sixteenth-century writers, such as Pierre Ronsard, Montaigne, and Jean de Léry, who were disgusted with Europe's savage religious struggles, and those seventeenth-century missionaries who wished to castigate Christians for behavior deemed inferior to that of *sauvages,* who lacked the benefit of Christ's grace, were the exceptions. Their writings have been blown out of context, especially those of the missionaries who could not by definition deem superior a culture so heavily based on idolatrous beliefs.[34] The "savage" was the antithesis of Christianity and civilization to a majority of European writers and a greater majority of readers. Few groups were deemed more savage than Island Caribs.

THE FINAL MAJOR historiographical issue that demands preliminary comment concerns France's generally more benign relations with these aboriginal peoples. Traditional views have emphasized distinct national characteristics to account for the more sympathetic Gallic approach. For example, rather too many commentators, mostly but not all French, have put forth the vaunted charm of the French male as the key characteristic.[35] (Englishmen have rarely made such claims for their colonial cousins.) More recent and less reverent scholars have emphasized economic and demographic factors. Tiny French colonies with economic and strategic dependence on groups like the Hurons and Tupinambas adopted what one recent historian aptly terms a policy of gentleness *(douceur).*[36] This now-dominant economic-demographic model de-emphasizes the role of the

missionaries.[37] These historians explain the relatively sympathetic views of French missionaries, travelers, and littérateurs toward Amerindians as largely a function of the nation's colonial imperatives. Aware of their dependency on Amerindians for brazilwood, furs, and food, authors in the colonial era naturally emphasized what they considered the more positive traits of groups friendly to France.[38] Conversely, negative views of hostile groups such as the Iroquois easily prevailed. With some exceptions, early English colonists and writers, having had fewer direct contacts with Amerindians and with less evangelical or economic incentive to humanize them, ignored or vilified these peoples.

The modern approach has much merit, but it gives rise to certain problems when applied to the Caribbean colonies. The population of the English and French islands (excluding Barbados, which ordinarily played a passive role in the Euro-Carib struggles) was much closer to parity than the situation on the North American mainland, where a soaring English population rapidly outpaced the Laurentian French. For much of the seventeenth century, St. Christopher, Martinique, and Guadeloupe provided adequate space for French settlers, as did Antigua, Nevis, and St. Christopher for the English. After 1655 English Jamaica and French St. Domingue (Haiti), both comparatively large land masses, were available for surplus population. In short, it was not economically imperative to deprive Caribs of their remaining island sanctuaries (most importantly, St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia). Both French and English colonists planted crops for export and, although engaging in trade with the aborigines, did not depend on them for sheer survival, as early Canadians did. Both European nations had earlier fought to expropriate Carib islands; indeed, the French were more intensely involved in these ferocious struggles because of their invasion of Island Carib strongholds at Martinique and Guadeloupe (1635). Thus, it was the French who played the "English" role as aggressors in the case of the Lesser Antilles. Nevertheless, it was the French who ultimately succeeded in consolidating alliances with the remaining Island Caribs who had been granted reservation islands (Dominica and St. Vincent) after 1660.

In short, the situation in the Caribbean provides an interesting case study to test the various explanations of the more successful French approach to Amerindian relations. That economic, demographic, and strategic factors were not nearly as favorable to the English as they were in North America does not adequately explain the failure of English Amerindian policy or French successes. While by no means ignoring economic and demographic variables, the following chapters present a multicausal analysis that points to political, strategic, and cultural factors as essential elements in any explanation of the difference between the French and the English approach to Island Caribs.

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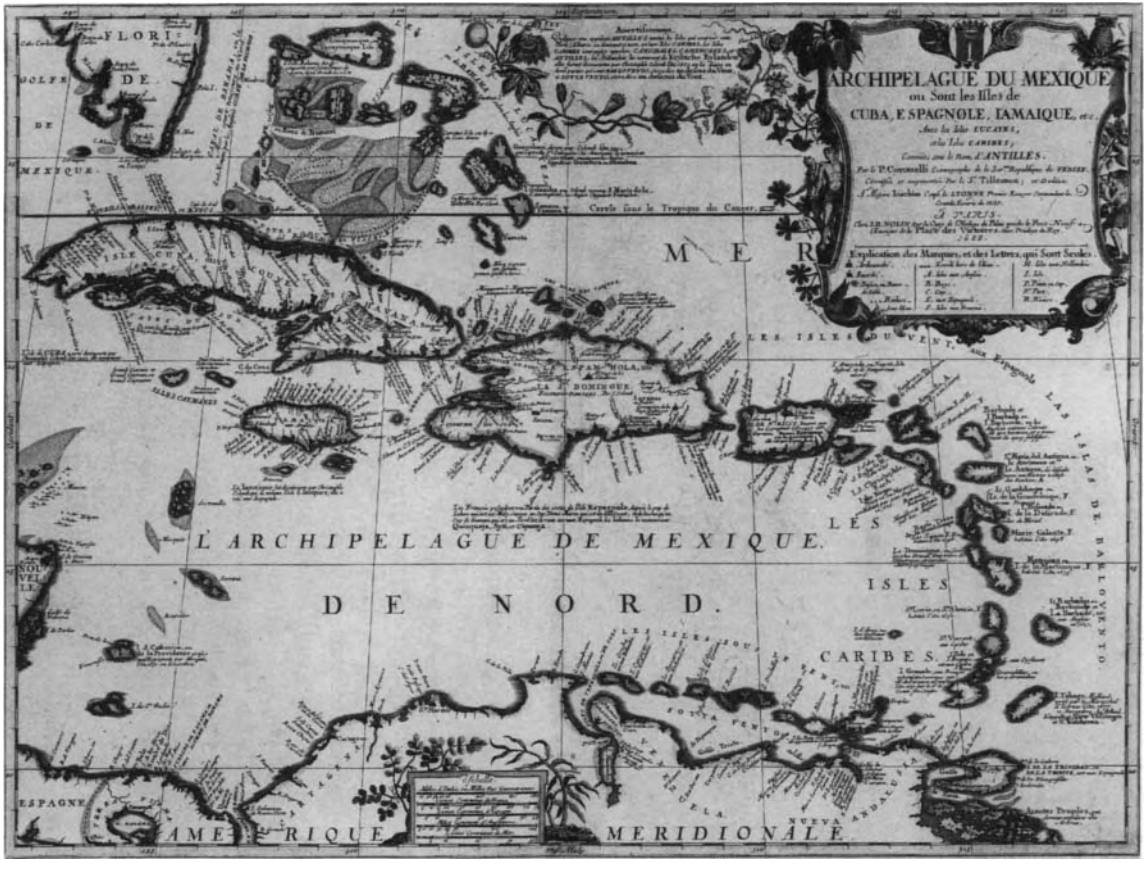
CHAPTER ONE

First Impressions: Europeans and Island Caribs in the Precolonial Era, 1492–1623

FOR MORE THAN a century before the English and French colonized the Carib-dominated Lesser Antilles, Europeans possessed significant information—and misinformation—about these "cannibals." In Europe, the literary elite became familiar with Hispanic tales of horror about fierce man-eating opponents of European imperialism. To be sure, French and English readers probably responded somewhat differently to the Spanish accounts, in part due to extensive and generally friendly French contacts with another "cannibal" people, the Tupinambas of Brazil. During the final decades of the precolonial era, less learned northern European merchants, sailors, and soldiers of fortune established growing contacts with the Island Caribs. Less familiar with Hispanic stereotypes, these adventurers conducted predominantly civil trade relations with aboriginal populations increasingly dependent on European ironware and spirits. Although these peaceable exchanges in no way altered the negative images of metropolitan intellectuals, they created connections that would later facilitate French, English, and Dutch occupation of the Lesser Antilles.

For most of the sixteenth century, however, Island Caribs had to deal with a most difficult European people, the Spaniards. Until at least the 1530s, Caribs persistently fought Spanish occupation of eastern Puerto Rico while attempting to defend their islands against slave raids, punitive expeditions, and campaigns of conquest. However, over time both sides found it useful to establish fragile periods of entente during which Spanish fleets could victual in peace at Dominica and Island Caribs could obtain the iron goods—axes, knives, manioc griddles, iron pots—they so ardently desired. Nevertheless, after the Spaniards had occupied parts of Trinidad in the 1570s and supplied the Arawak enemies of all Caribs, war once more became the norm of this relationship. Fortunately for the Caribs, increasing numbers of Spain's enemies—Dutch, French, English—appeared in the Lesser Antilles, and these merchant-pirates provided alternate sources of European technology. In the short run, the abolition of the Spanish monopoly must have benefited the Island Caribs; in the long run, these northern Europeans came and stayed.



Marco Coronelli's 1688 map of the Lesser Antilles.
Near the island of Dominica is the caption, "where live the greatest warriors of America, the anthropophagous Caribs."

IRONICALLY, BEFORE EUROPEANS actually encountered them, Island Caribs already possessed a reputation as blood-thirsty man-eaters. The marvelously fertile imagination of Christopher Columbus created the myth of "Carib cannibalism."[1] On his first voyage, the admiral understood from Taíno Arawaks of Hispaniola (or so he thought that's what their sign language and facial grimaces meant) that their feared enemies (the "caniba" or "carib") inhabited islands to the east.[2] His initial description of these "cannibals" as "men with one eye, and others with dogs' noses" obviously reflected inherited classical and medieval notions about anthropophagi inhabiting the far ends of the earth,[3] especially those of the popular late medieval writer John Mandeville. Still, as Peter Hulme points out, Columbus initially was skeptical of Taíno claims because he believed it possible that these "caniba" were soldiers of the Great Khan (*can* in Spanish).[4]

By the conclusion of his wanderings in Caribbean waters, however, Columbus had persuaded himself that Island Caribs were indeed fierce man-eaters and thus subject to enslavement. Although he admitted that he knew few Indian words, he facilely and mistakenly assumed that the first non-Taíno to offer resistance to his incursions was a "Carib."[5] Columbus also came to accept the Taíno-inspired idea that the "cannibal" islands contained much gold, so it is not surprising to learn that the Lesser Antilles were the initial goal of his second voyage (1493). Columbus intended to investigate reports of gold there and to enslave any "cannibals" he could catch.[6] After cruising about Dominica, he sent a landing party ashore at Guadeloupe, fully expecting a hostile reception. No "Caribs" were found in the village, but their female slaves "confirmed," by sign language presumably, that their masters were indeed ferocious man-eaters. The landing party retrieved four or five human bones. Not unaware of the Carib—and Taíno—practice of burning dead bodies and preserving bones of kin, Columbus nevertheless concluded that Taíno accusations were accurate.[7]

In a much publicized letter about this episode, expedition participant and "eyewitness" Dr. Chanca expressed certainty about the anthropophagy of these aborigines and described in sensational detail their culinary practices.[8] All too soon, the very words *Carib* and *cannibal* became synonyms. Despite the absence of first-hand evidence or eye-witness observation, without even much circumstantial evidence, Island Caribs acquired an ironclad reputation that resisted all empirical inquiries and critical examination until recent decades.

As Hulme usefully demonstrates, the term *cannibal* differed significantly from the old established word *anthropophagite,* which ordinarily referred to the ritual consumption of one's relatives after death. In contrast, cannibalism meant from the beginning what anthropologists call *exocannibalism,* the eating of those outside one's community. But it also connoted a fero-

cious, predatorlike tearing apart of the limbs.[9] Dr. Chanca, for example, claimed that the bones picked up in the Carib village had been gnawed.[10] As early as 1520 a Spanish writer asserted that the term *cannibal* derived from *canis,* the Latin word for dog.[11] Starting with Peter Martire d'Anghiera, European writers often compared Caribs to wolves preying upon the gentle lambs of the Arawak nation.[12]

The emerging concept of Carib cannibalism had almost immediate consequences. Upon his triumphant return to Castile, Columbus urged Isabella and Ferdinand to permit enslavement of "these cannibals, a people very savage and suitable for the purpose, and well-made and of very good intelligence."[13] These qualities made them perfect candidates for the galleys, where, Columbus shrewdly noted for the benefit of the pious queen, they could acquire civilization and Christianity. (Not that the queen refused her royal share of slave-trading proceeds!) These Carib slaves could be payment for the large quantity of cattle needed for the islands. The admiral's view that strong-bodied Caribs would make perfect slaves reflected deep-rooted, Aristotelean conceptions.

In 1503, Isabella authorized the enslavement of those cannibals so inhuman as to resist Spanish arms and evangelism. This decision was reaffirmed by Ferdinand in 1511 and Charles I (Charles V, the Holy Roman Emperor after 1519) in 1525. In 1547, Charles excepted male "Carib" warriors from the New Laws of 1542, which prohibited Indian slavery. Not satisfied, Spanish colonists repeatedly demanded that "Carib" females be subject to enslavement, and the crown so granted in 1569. These edicts in practice allowed open season on all Indians, for anyone resisting Spanish imperialism was now considered "Carib."[14]

King Ferdinand's cedula of 1511, in truth a declaration of war, charged that Island Caribs inspired the Indians of the Greater Antilles, especially those of Puerto Rico, to revolt against their Spanish masters. Records in the Spanish archives indicate intense slave raids and colonization projects in the Lesser Antilles from 1512 to 1517, including the famous armada of Ponce de León in 1515. Not coincidentally, at this time the Arawak population of Hispaniola was in catastrophic decline.[15] How successful these slavers were is uncertain, although later Caribs lamented that Spaniards had killed most of their ancestors.[16] Barbados probably lost its aboriginal population, which may have been Island Carib. Whether this heavy mortality can be attributed to Spanish arms or to the introduction of European diseases is problematical.

The initial European image of Caribs reflected these early decades of hostility. In his widely publicized letter, Columbus created the dichotomy of the gentle, pliable Arawak and the monstrous Carib, warlike and cannibalistic. The immensely influential *Decades* of Columbus's fellow Italian Pietro Martire d'Anghiera (Peter Martire), a courtier of Charles I, propa-

gated this Manichean approach to Amerindians. He felt strong sympathy for those "innocent sheep," the Arawaks, and a vitriolic dislike for those "ravenous wolves," the Caribs. In one of his most cited passages, this humanist scholar asserts that these "brutal men, cruel and terrible, living off human meat" impregnated captured women to assure an ever-fresh supply of human viands. These devils in the new-found Eden evoked from Martire's pen slashing, colorful invective that contrasts greatly with the sweet, bland depictions of his beloved Arawaks. Martire's resonant phrases and striking passages still echoed in geographical accounts two centuries later.[17]

Fierce Carib resistance to Spanish slavers and their subsequent raids on Spanish islands such as Puerto Rico inevitably "confirmed" the validity of the first impressions. Although the aborigines were unable to prevent Spanish ships from taking on water and wood—indeed, Dominica was by the 1530s the official stopping place for Spanish vessels proceeding to the Greater Antilles and the mainlands—they did stop sporadic Spanish colonization efforts, such as that for Guadeloupe in 1525.[18] Carib raids on eastern Puerto Rico apparently started as early as 1511, increased in momentum in the later 1520s, and reached a peak of intensity in the 1570s.[19] The presumed goals of these incursions, beyond revenge for slave raids, were prisoners and iron weapons. Caribs employed the captives as slaves and, if one can assume that European arms and diseases thinned their numbers, as potential recruits. Like other Amerindians, the islanders adopted prisoners into the group, which may explain the numerous episodes in which they tried to prevent captive or shipwrecked Europeans from returning to "civilization."

According to Spanish archives, these Stone Age people scored some remarkable victories against their European tormentors. For example, Caribs killed the survivors of the wreck of a Spanish treasure ship and stowed the mineral riches in a cave near the sea. A decade later a free black woman who escaped from Carib captivity claimed that the looted gold and silver surpassed the height of a man on horseback.[20] Many a European ship anchored off Dominica found its cables cut at night in the hope of a shipwreck. There are even some cases of ships captured at sea by Carib war canoes (periaguas or pirogues).[21] In response to these and other attacks, the Spanish dispatched raiding parties, set traps for Carib bowmen, and endlessly planned the final blow against these "pests of humanity."[22] The government, forever short of funds, sometimes hoped that missionaries might provide a cheaper solution. Many, perhaps most, of these monks were killed (nine alone in 1603–4), although from the 1550s on they no longer purportedly suffered the indignation of being eaten. As a famous legend explained, this reputed change in Carib degustation arose after some "cannibals" became ill after feasting on a Spanish Friar.[23]

This account of Spanish-Carib relations is so far primarily one of unremitting and mutual antipathy. Yet, despite the recounted episodes above, there were many years in the sixteenth century without such encounters. Bits of evidence support the view that Spaniards and Island Caribs often exchanged goods with one hand while weapons occupied the other. Spaniards needed, often badly, provisions such as manioc flour, fish, yams, potatoes, and tobacco, whereas Caribs always were short of iron tools.[24] The near silence of the Spanish archives on this issue is no evidence against it; after all, only bad news crossed the Atlantic to the Council of the Indies. There is some linguistic evidence to suggest that the Spanish-Carib relationship was characterized by years of cautious entente as well as periods of war; as late as the 1650s, after many years of intense French contact, the Carib vocabulary contained more Spanish than French words[25]—despite the contemporary conviction that Caribs loved the French as much as they hated the Spaniards.

Given the tensions and outright conflicts between the two peoples, it is not surprising that literary images of Caribs remained abysmally negative. What changed was that Spanish writers, fascinated by the triumphs of Cortés, Pizarro, and other astonishing conquistadors, paid less attention to Island Caribs. Given the retention of the prevailing stereotypes, who could hope to surpass the imaginative Martire in invective? The lush Italian phrases turned to banalities in lesser writers. Gonzalo Fernandes de Oviedo, who twice stopped at Dominica in the 1520s en route to Hispaniola, railed at the abominable sins of these savages.[26] The influential historian Francisco Lopez de Gomara, who never saw a Carib, merely repeated the horrifying tales of insatiable and epicurean cannibalism he found in earlier sources.[27] These authors expressed a deep abhorrence of what they considered gross inhumanity, but Martire's intense shock at the very existence of such creatures is missing, perhaps because Martire, unlike the Spanish chroniclers, genuinely sympathized with Amerindians like the Arawaks. In the widely translated works of Oviedo and Gomara we see perpetuated the none-more-evil reputation of Island Caribs.

The uniformly negative Spanish image of Caribs meant that two traditions emphasizing either positive or negative cultural traits did not emerge, as was for example the case vis-à-vis the Arawaks, Mexica, and Inca. Further damaging the Carib reputation was the fact that the word *cannibals* elicited a response of horror as well as fascination from European reading audiences. No Amerindian name—probably not even the Mexica and Inca—had greater recognition than Caribs, Tupinambas, and Patagonians.[28] Furthermore, the sensationalism created by man-eating accounts attracted those great popularizers and ethnographic simplifiers, the cosmographers. They pandered to public thirst by endlessly recounting tales lifted from Martire, Oviedo, and, in the case of Brazilian cannibals, ac-

A *boucherie* of dog-headed cannibals. From Lorenz Fries, *Uslegung Der Mer Carthen* (Strasbourg, 1525).
This sensationalized representation of American anthropophagy is deeply indebted to late medieval fantasies, especially those of John Mandeville.

counts attributed to Americus Vespucci. Perhaps Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544), which ran through forty-six printings in six languages between 1544 and 1650,[29] most effectively diffused such grotesque stories and illustrations as Martire's depiction of the presumed Carib practice of gelding and fattening young prisoners.[30] François Belleforest, who translated Münster into French with much updated material, reiterated the German's description of Caribs as "the nastiest, cruelest, lustful, lying . . . abominable people in the world."[31]

With perhaps competition only from the "Patagonians," Caribs were the ignoble savages par excellence for sixteenth-century reading audiences. To be sure, like other primitives and wild men of medieval lore, Caribs were described as strong, swift, and healthy, thus partaking of the excellencies of the animal world just below men in the chain of being. To readers nurtured on classical concepts, these physical blessings were indicators of their aptitude to serve more delicate, civilized men.[32] Physical and cultural attributes such as nakedness, scarification, long hair, and

tawny color, as well as despised customs such as idolatry, crude diet and filthy "table" manners, sexual "license," and cannibalism, no doubt scandalized readers.[33]

For traditional Christians, such savages were manifestly the playthings of Satan; indeed, they looked like devils at their infamous drinking feasts *(ouicous)*, and they were a stunning example of man's depravity unredeemed by Christ's grace. For those humanists who liked to attribute Golden Age innocence to such Amerindians as "Arawaks," Carib cannibals posed something of a problem. Peter Martire, so well known for his idealization of Arawaks, found not an iota of good to say about Caribs. His fellow Italian Girolamo Benzoni, who on the one hand chastized Spaniards for their unjust treatment of aborigines, nevertheless tagged Caribs with unpleasant epithets.[34] Other humanists, reflecting Aristotle's hostility to uncivilized peoples, found much support for their antiprimitivism in contemporary descriptions of these "bad boys." Of all the sixteenth-century commentators on cannibals, only Bishop Las Casas professed to understand, at least in certain circumstances, the practice of man-eating.[35]

THE DOMINANT SPANISH view of Caribs received extensive attention in England and France. In France, there were numerous translations of Martire, Oviedo, Gomara, Münster, and other purveyors of the monstrous savage thesis. At the turn of the seventeenth century, the writings of the Spanish Jesuit José de Acosta and the Frenchman Pierre d'Avity firmly placed Caribs and other cannibals at the bottom rung of the human social ladder.[36] French readers also encountered Caribs in Antonio de Herrera's history, which popularized the endlessly quoted anecdote about the Caribs of Dominica who supposedly died after eating a Spanish monk.[37] Theodore DeBry's popular collection of voyages highlighted supposed cannibal feasts.[38] In his travels along northern South America, Jean Mocquet distinguished in his text and in accompanying graphics friendly "Arawaks" from ferocious, cannibalistic mainland "Caribs."[39] DeBry's and Mocquet's pictorial images probably did as much to foster negative views of these "pests of humanity" as did all previous works.

Despite the extensive sources available to the French reading public, the visible impact of Caribs on intellectuals was relatively slight. That is manifestly not the case for another "cannibal" people, the Tupinambas. Unlike Caribs, these "Brazilians" entranced as often as they horrified readers. The French had an intense acquaintance with these peoples because of strategic and economic ties initiated in the early decades of the sixteenth century. Numerous merchant ships passed annually to Brazil to exchange European merchandise for the famous brazilwood, source of prized red dyes. French boys were left to reside among the "cannibals" in order to learn their language and customs. These interpreters *(truchements)* facilitated the

trade and helped the Tupinambas against their Indian and Portuguese adversaries.[40] Their relationship became so close that European captives of the Tupinambas would try to pass as Frenchmen. The well-known narrative of Hans Staden's captivity among the Tupinambas points out dramatically the extent of the French presence on the "cannibal" coast.[41]

This strong economic and cultural relationship engendered distinct French awareness and reasonably precise images of the *Toupinamboux*.[42] Whereas the French had only sporadic intercourse with Island Caribs, regular connections with Tupinambas led to their frequent appearance in French ports and in Paris. Fifty Brazilians participated in the *spectacle* of 1550, the *entrée* of Henri II and Catherine de Médicis into Rouen. These Tupinambas, supported by some two hundred French veterans of the Brazil trade, staged a mock battle *à la sauvage* for the enthralled sovereigns.[43] Shortly after this exotic performance, Durand de Villegaignon's colonial expedition to Brazil sparked a bitter polemic between Catholics and Huguenots that further publicized Tupinamba culture.[44]

France's long relationship with these "cannibals" smoothed the path for later colonial encounters with Island Caribs. By the early seventeenth century, one observer of a Parisian extravaganza (in which six Tupinambas were baptised) felt no need to explain to his readers who these *Toupinamboux* were.[45] However, the beginning of French—and European—interest in Brazilians really occurred a century earlier with the widespread publication of Americus Vespucci's supposed *Letters*. Although some aboriginal customs, especially cannibalism, were not to his taste, the author presented an imaginative and appealing portrayal of primitive life. He marveled at the comely bodies of the naked Brazilians, especially those of the maidens. Their seeming lack of private property reminded him of man in the Golden Age.[46] His views spread rapidly, in part thanks to his influence on the cosmographers, although those sensation-mongers tended to place greater emphasis on "cannibal" rites.[47]

Also of European-wide impact were the books of Antonio Pigafetta and Hans Staden. Apparently first published in French in 1525, Pigafetta's account of the Magellan voyage described its encounter with "cannibals." The author insisted that Brazilian man-eating was a tribal ritual rather than a craving for human flesh. These *sauvages* lived long and healthy lives, a point also emphasized by Vespucci, and were of such a temperament that they "would be easy to convert."[48] A quite different impression must have remained with the reader of Staden's famous escapades among the "cannibals." His near stewing in a Tupinamba pot seems to have simultaneously horrified and enthralled European audiences. (His French readers would have been reassured that their countrymen, so greatly loved by these "savages," never served as the entrée.[49])

As part of the polemics aroused by Villegaignon's much publicized

Brazilian fiasco, which on both sides was attributed to Catholic-Huguenot internecine conflicts, two major works spread knowledge of Tupinamba culture. The *Singularitez* of the Franciscan André Thevet presents lurid descriptions of the "cannibals" accompanied by sensational pictorial images.[50] On the one hand praising such Tupinamba virtues as their charity toward one another, the author on the other hand condemns their nakedness, their barbarism in war, their vindictiveness toward enemies, and, of course, their man-eating. Nevertheless, he trusts that one day Christianity will temper their incivility. Thevet's reader could choose whether to recall the Tupinambas' vices or virtues.[51] One suspects that the general reaction was along the lines of Thevet's English translator, who pointedly praised European arts and sciences, without which man would be "naked, barbarous and brutish."[52] The Genevan Calvinist Jean de Léry, who spent much more time in Brazil than Thevet, presents a more sympathetic portrait of the Brazilians, even placing their "cannibalism" in comparative context by noting that French Catholics had engaged in more ferocious acts of man-eating during the religious wars.[53] Always critical of contemporary European life, Léry praises the superior health, selfless hospitality, and genuine freedom from care *(sans souci)* of these simple people. He refutes Vespucci's claims of sexual libertinism among the Tupinambas, denying that their nakedness induces libidinous acts; just the opposite is true, he points out, as the coquettish half-dress of French courtesans demonstrated. In his most humane moments, Léry liked those charitable children of nature and expressed the exotic wish to be back among them. His readers must have marveled at the author's peaceable stay with his "cannibal" hosts. In the final analysis, however, Léry the committed Calvinist could not approve intellectually of an idolatrous tribe, descendants of (C)Ham.[54]

These popular works by authors who had firsthand evidence of Tupinamba culture and the numerous visits of Amerindians to France stimulated the interest of metropolitan littérateurs. Disgusted by France's religious wars, the famed poet Pierre Ronsard did not hesitate to depict the Tupinambas as Golden Age men, despite their "cannibalism." Europeans could only corrupt them, he claimed, and as a result should leave them in tranquillity.[55] More informed and nuanced were the views of Michel de Montaigne, who shared Ronsard's contempt for contemporary European culture. Consulting the works of Thevet, Benzoni, and Gomara, as well as interviewing unsophisticated, straight-talking interpreters *(truchements)*, the sage of Bordeaux praises the "cannibals" for living according to the laws of nature.[56] Tupinamba culture had much to teach corrupt Europeans: "The very words that import lying, falsehood, treason, dissimulations, covetousness . . . were never heard among them."[57] Montaigne explained Tupinamba cannibalism, an obvious perversion of natural law, as a ritualistic rather than dietary trait of aboriginal culture; in any case,

contemporary Christians engaged in far more contemptible practices. He lauded the Tupinambas for their fidelity toward their wives, perhaps an implicit repudiation of Vespucci's frothy free-sex fantasies. The essayist's use of the word *admirable* in conjunction with the "simplicity and ignorance" of a people "without letters, laws, King or religion" was quite original in sixteenth-century thought.[58] It is crucial, to be sure, to understand the limits of Montaigne's primitivism: "We may then call them barbarous, in regard to reason's rule, but not in respect of us that exceed them in all kinds of barbarism." Montaigne's target was his countrymen, who he felt should have been ashamed that in so many ways *sauvages* lived a superior moral life. While his cannibals are less noble than pedagogical savages, this great thinker's essay "On Cannibals" is nevertheless a remarkable event in the development of modern anthropology.[59]

What accounts for this odd French sympathy toward an idolatrous and "cannibalistic" people who, furthermore, were "disfigured" by facial plugs and scarification? It is possibly germane to point to the strength of humanism in France. Studies of the classics provided examples of primitivism in Greek and Roman letters; however, the tradition of the ignoble savage was at least as prevalent in antiquity. It is tempting to resort to hypotheses about national character and note the anthropological bent of French thought from the sixteenth century forward. But such an observation merely begs the question. Was French sympathy for less-civilized peoples perhaps a result of an intellectual appreciation of the benefits wrought by the romanization of Gaul? Sixteenth-century French historians were well aware of these benefits, but they did not make an explicit analogy with the European occupation of America.

Less speculative approaches to this question of French sympathy for the indigenous people *(indigènes)* might address the following factors. The economic and military imperatives of the French-Tupinamba relationship promoted a policy of *douceur* and the need to understand aboriginal customs. Colonists, *truchements,* ministers, and priests transmitted basic knowledge of Tupinamba culture to metropolitan writers.[60] Is it therefore simply that valued allies would be assessed favorably, as were later the Hurons of New France, but not the Iroquois?[61] Not entirely, because relatively sympathetic views of Hurons, Caribs, and other friendly Amerindians had only a negligible impact on major seventeenth-century writers. Apparently central to the ability of sixteenth-century writers such as Ronsard and Montaigne to overcome the normal Eurocentric view of the savage state as the negation of civil society was their disgust at the religiously-inspired barbarisms of their own "Iron Age."

Not all French observers translated discontent with contemporary society into love of savage life, so an image of the Tupinambas as ignoble savages competed with the more positive view. Three participants in the

1555 expedition, Villegaignon himself and the Huguenots Richer and Barre, conveyed very negative impressions of the Brazilians. The commander wondered "whether we had not fallen upon beasts possessed of human form," and the Calvinists held them in such low esteem that their evangelization seemed doubtful.[62] It would be interesting to know their colleague Léry's belief *at the time* of the expedition. Somewhat later, in 1581, a ship captain described Tupinambas as "brutal beasts" who cherished human meat as their "nectar and ambrosia."[63] These and similar views admittedly did not receive as much publicity as those more sympathetic opinions of Vespucci and Léry, but they did have an impact.

From the 1550s on, French "social scientists" were seeking explanations for the increasingly obvious diversity of human customs. Some, like Jean Bodin, used environmental theories to explain these differences. The emerging consensus about people of the "southern" parts of the world as being extremely cruel encompassed Ethiopians, Tupinambas, Patagonians, and Caribs. Bodin deemed New World savages "of all others most devoid of humanity"; he spoke of Brazilians in particular, who are "not content to eat the flesh of their enemies, but will bathe their children in their blood."[64] Louis Le Roy and Voisin de la Popelinière promoted the emerging hypothesis that primitive cultures constituted the first stage in human social development. Le Roy's view that humans at this stage are "very simple and brutal, hardly different than beasts" was not entirely damning because he made it clear that Europe's first peoples lived as barbarously as do the American savages.[65]

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the influential books of Acosta and d'Avity promoted this idea of cultural, historically based hierarchy. The Jesuit José de Acosta and his intellectual disciple Pierre d'Avity placed Tupinambas in the lowest class of barbarian, the utterly primitive peoples for whom only forced conversion and civilization could exorcise their savagery. These groups, "altogether barbarous . . . without law, without King, and without any certain place of abode, but go in troups like savage beasts," included Floridians, Caribs, and Tupinambas.[66] Father Acosta, much admired for his criticisms of Spanish excesses in the New World and for his contention that "civilized" Amerindians like Incas and Aztecs had the capacity for Christianization, held pessimistic views of "less-developed" peoples of whom he had no direct knowledge.[67] Among others, the works of Bodin, Acosta, and d'Avity suggest that the earlier Golden Age idealization of primitive Amerindians (but never of Caribs) had been swept aside in favor of hierarchical models of cultural evolution, which firmly assigned such peoples as Tupinambas and Caribs to the bottom rung of the human ladder. The intellectual tenor of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was one characterized by increasing pessimism concerning human nature and the concomitant condition of "pu-

ritanism" in religion and authoritarianism in politics—singularly unfertile ground for favorable images of *sauvages*.

One final flurry of public interest concerning the Tupinambas occurred in conjunction with the French colony at Maragnan (south of the Amazon river mouth) in 1612–16. The Capuchin missionary Claude d'Abbeville's account envisioned the Tupinambas, upon conversion to Christianity, as the exemplars of a simple, virtuous life far superior to that of corrupt Europe.[68] Here were Léry's and Montaigne's pedagogical savages seen through millenarian Catholic lenses. Returning with Claude on a fund-raiser to Paris in 1613 were six Tupinambas, whose well-publicized and royally attended baptismal ceremony was the social highlight of the season. Paris was ablaze with enthusiasm for these *sauvages*. These events, however, marked the denouement of a century-old French fascination with Brazilians, but that very humanizing experience provided an intellectual and cultural context for the forthcoming colonial encounter with "Carib cannibals."[69]

IN THE HALF-CENTURY prior to colonization, English impressions of Caribs as established by Columbus, Martire, the Spaniards Oviedo, Gomara, and Acosta, and diffused through the cosmographies, did not perceptibly change. In the 1550s the Hispanophile Richard Eden presented translations of parts of Martire, Oviedo, Gomara, and Münster, especially those passages on the most bizarre Americans, the supposed Patagonian giants and cannibals.[70] With the ascent of Elizabeth I to the throne, growing anti-Hispanic sentiment led to a broader interest in Philip II's rich domains across the Atlantic. Strangely unresponsive to openings to the west previously,[71] Englishmen started dreaming of overseas adventures and soon an accompanying literature appeared. The *Decades* of Martire, especially important for the image of Carib as inhuman monster, was translated by Richard Willes in 1577 and more completely by Michael Lok in 1612.[72]

By the 1580s and 1590s, the heroic exploits of Drake and Hawkins in the Caribbean and the Ralegh-sponsored expeditions to "Roanoke" and Guiana further whetted English interest.[73] Richard Haklyut's collections of voyages both reflected England's new found curiosity and stimulated it. In his *Principal Navigations* (1598), the astute reader *could* have noticed descriptions of amicable English relations with Island Caribs; however, the aborigines in these accounts were usually called "naturals" or, if looked upon hostilely, "savages," but not Caribs. Therefore, the reader may not have connected them to the infamous monsters of Martire and Münster.[74] In Ralegh's popular *Discovery of Guiana* and in the account of Charles Leigh, mainland Caribs received negative treatment because of their enmity toward Amerindians friendly to the English.[75]

Other books of these decades undoubtedly reinforced negative impres-

Louis de Jehan, a Tupinamba visitor to Paris, outfitted in courtier garb. From Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des péres Capucins . . .* (Paris, 1614).

sions of Caribs. The translation of the justly famous work of Acosta reached English readers in the post-Elizabethan era of detente with Spain; as noted previously, his enlightened views of Amerindian "civilizations" did not extend to the "cannibal" vagabonds of the Caribbean basin.[76] An influential exponent of Acosta's typologies, Pierre d'Avity was available to English readers in 1615 under the name of his translator (Grimstone), and once again Caribs occupied the lowest rank in human societies.[77] Part of Herrera's official history of the Indies, which was deeply indebted to Gomara and which reaffirmed the latter's horror of life among cannibals, was published in Purchas's collection.[78] But perhaps George Abbot's unduly popular *Briefe Description,* which had eight printings between 1599 and 1636, best reflects contemporary English views.[79] What good traits Amerindians might possess by the "light of nature"—hospitality, affability, candidness—were snuffed out by Satan-induced vices such as incest, sodomy, adultery, and, among the Tupinambas and Caribs, cannibalism.[80] Abbot's descriptions were indeed "briefe" and sordid.

Any analysis of "American" impact on Elizabethan and Jacobean literature should emphasize the highly impressionistic quality of English images. Although true of French images as well, England had very much less direct contact with Amerindians, especially "cannibals." According to students of Elizabethan literature, mythical Arcadia and the half-mythical Orient held far more enchantment than did America.[81] The New World or the Indies for a Spenser or a Shakespeare were merely other words for fabulous wealth.[82] To be certain, savages depicted in *The Faerie Queene* and in *The Tempest* were more or less influenced by the new-found peoples; however, both of these great authors viewed savagery as the antithesis of civil and especially courtly society. For Spenser, the savage is the negation of his gentlemanly ideal and is placed alongside Irishmen, perhaps—a notch above brute beasts in the chain of being. His cannibals closely resemble, according to one scholar, the monstrous Caribs of Martire's *Decades.*[83] For Spenser, as for most Elizabethan intellectuals, there was no social loss of faith similar to that of Ronsard and Montaigne.

Shakespeare's *Tempest,* and especially the character Caliban, has launched an avalanche of critical studies. It is generally agreed that Shakespeare included and ultimately rejected Montaigne's sympathetic portrayal of cannibal culture.[84] Caliban is probably an anagram of *cannibal,* a term used in *Othello,* although Prospero's slave has no such overt inclinations in the play.[85] If Shakespeare wished to universalize the savage state in Caliban, why did he make him so difficult to visualize? Scholars have more or less plausibly linked Caliban to Patagonians, Tupinambas, Caribs, medieval wild men, and others,[86] but they are confounded by Shakespeare, who portrayed him as "half a fish and half a monster." Not only did all contemporary accounts of Amerindians emphatically insist that no natural

deformities were found among these "savages," but Shakespeare undoubtedly saw "Virginians" in London.[87] Perhaps this latter assumption helps unravel the mystery about Caliban's monstrous form. Shakespeare accepted the neoplatonic notion that outward bodily form reflects the character and soul of the human being. Because Caliban epitomizes the savage state of man unredeemed by the gentility of civilization, how could he share the comely human form of Amerindian visitors to London? If Caliban is indeed a monster (he is called that thirty-seven times), his origins are perhaps in the fabulous world of Mandeville and Münster, rather than in that of Columbus and Martire.[88]

It is nevertheless plausible to argue that Shakespeare's audience connected Caliban with the new-found peoples.[89] When Caliban is described as speechless, or as babbling "like a thing most brutish," this reflects contemporary attitudes toward Amerindian dialects.[90] It is also notable that the conspiracy against Prospero is hatched only after Stephano plies Caliban with liquor. Caliban's primal sin of unrepentant sexual aggressiveness and his inability to distinguish right from wrong—similar to the beastly kingdom—reflected seemingly popular if not knowledgeable concepts of Amerindians.[91]

To the unknown extent that Caliban reflects the playwright's and his audience's assumptions about Amerindians, some assertions may be hazarded. Shakespeare's primarily unsympathetic depiction of Caliban, "this thing of darkness," probably indicates increasing English pessimism about Amerindians because of the events at Roanoke, the colonial setbacks in Guiana and St. Lucia (1605), and the uncertainty about the contemporary (1612) situation at Jamestown.[92] Caliban and all savages, abroad and at home, are the unrepentant enemies of the processes of civilization. It is no accident that Caliban conspires with the lower-class ruffians Trinculo and Stephano against the authority of Prospero. Secondly, Shakespeare's bizarre sketch of Caliban's physiognomy may have been plausible to an audience nurtured on a concept of a chain of being that barely separated the world of fictitious monsters and factual Amerindians. The popular work of Münster had grouped together these two categories, and English lack of interest in systematic ethnology as typified by Abbot's work did not help clarify the issue.[93] A dozen years before the colonization of the Carib islands, then, England's most popular playwright had produced a monstrous symbol of man's savage state, while across the channel six real "cannibals" in the costume of Renaissance gentlemen charmed the court of Marie de Médicis.[94]

THE OVERWHELMINGLY NEGATIVE literary characterizations of "Carib cannibals" had little apparent impact on the increasing numbers of Frenchmen and Englishmen who established sporadic trade contacts with the

islands c. 1550–1625. Privateers hunting Iberian shipping, illicit traders, and colonists on their way to Virginia and Guiana often took on provisions at the Carib islands and initiated trade relations.[95] They chose the islands of the Lesser Antilles because the Spanish, who had difficulty protecting even the lifelines of their empire, only occasionally bothered them. Such Euro-Carib encounters were more often than not friendly because of mutual economic advantage and mutual antipathy toward Spaniards. The pithy accounts of some of these interactions suggest between the lines that Caribs were cautiously eager to obtain new sources of ironware, firearms, and spirits.[96] Their actions toward the northern Europeans appear remarkably consistent and civil. (It must be emphasized here that Caribs viewed an exchange of goods as a transfer of gifts between friends; in fact, the Carib word for exchange of goods and exchange of friendship is the same. Also, there is no word for trade, commerce, trader, or merchant, but many for gift and giver.) Only when visitors gave indication of overstaying their welcome, as happened to an English group at St. Lucia in 1605,[97] or when Europeans like those accompanying René de Laudonnière en route to Florida (1564) offended Carib customs were reprisals taken.[98] As for the Europeans, for the most part they appear unfamiliar with the grotesque literary image of the "cannibals." On some occasions when hostilities did erupt, the accounts indicate that the Europeans had received stern warnings by Spaniards or other Indians not to be entrapped by the apparent friendliness of these "sneaky" and "bloodthirsty" savages.[99]

Caribs had strategic as well as economic reasons for encouraging cautious contacts with northern Europeans. From 1569 the Spaniards had renewed efforts to control Trinidad and in so doing aid their Arawak allies in a protracted struggle against Caribs. Trinidad was of great strategic interest to Caribs who visited it frequently when trading and raiding on the continent. Spanish records indicate constant Carib attacks on the island.[100] That contacts with northern Europeans could prove fruitful in this direction was demonstrated in 1613 when a combined foray of Dutch pirates and Carib bowmen seriously threatened Spanish settlers.[101] But the Caribs also had to deal with an increasingly aggressive Spanish threat to their home islands. Perhaps motivated by the killing of Dominican missionaries, the crown granted licenses to make war against the Island Caribs and in subsequent years many prisoners were sold at auction.[102]

CARIB–NORTHERN EUROPEAN relationships in the "Spanish Caribbean" turned out to be a double-edged sword. Caribs of St. Vincent would see the Dutch—who had from the 1590s established ties with them because of their mutual hostility to the Spaniards and Arawaks at Trinidad—settle at St. Martins and then in 1628 at Tobago. The latter island was as much a threat to Carib communications as Trinidad and thus they expelled the

Dutch.[103] Caribs of St. Christopher, Dominica, Martinique, and Guadeloupe, unaware of the tobacco revolution that sent European prices skyrocketing, witnessed increasing settler interest in their islands, especially as colonies in the Amazon valley and Guiana failed to take root. On the other hand, Europeans who supplied Caribs with axes allowed more efficient production of pirogues, and their less frequent furnishing of firearms fostered Carib acquaintance with the Europeans' chief advantage in war.[104]

Thus, in the years prior to colonization of the Lesser Antilles, Englishmen and Frenchmen conducted reasonably civil relations with Island Caribs, whereas in Europe at least some readers must have harbored nightmarish visions of these "assasins of men who drink their blood."[105] The contrast between the realities of cultural contact and the literary images is startling. In 1619 and 1620, a group of stranded Frenchmen spent some ten peaceable months among Martiniquan Caribs, an experience that permitted the anonymous author of a manuscript to be remarkably free of ingrained prejudices against such strange peoples.[106] At nearly the same time in France, the author of a typical cosmography could dismiss Caribs with one phrase—"savage, cruel anthropophagites."[107] In England, despite frequent cordial contacts in the islands with these "cannibals," some of which are related in Haklyut, that sensation-monger Samuel Purchas could chuckle to his readers that he had omitted cannibal scenes from one account (Léry) because "we have glutted you already."[108] Whereas Tupinamba visits to France had a humanizing impact, no Island Caribs appeared on the streets of Paris and London or saluted the king at the Louvre and Whitehall. With the advent of the settling in 1623–25 of St. Christopher (modern St. Kitts) and soon other islands, English and French settlers began to deal with Caribs in a much more difficult relationship, that of contestants for limited land. The era of good feelings in the islands rapidly drew to a close: it had never begun in the parlors and studies of the European elite.

CHAPTER TWO

Realpolitik Caribbean Style: Euro-Carib Relations during the European Invasion, 1623–1660

AFTER SOME SEVENTY years of sporadic commercial and cultural contacts with the Island Caribs, northern Europeans established permanent residence in the Lesser Antilles during the 1620s. Within a strategic context of increasing Dutch, French, and English animosity toward Spain, the principal impulse to this shift to colonization was the soaring price of tobacco in Europe. (Ironically, an Indian "gift" to Europeans would accelerate the long process of Island Carib cultural decline.) European settlement meant displacement of the original inhabitants, though only after a protracted and fierce resistance. The small islands that constitute the Lesser Antilles could not easily contain both a burgeoning European population and resolutely independent aborigines. Still, the seeming inevitability of the Island Carib failure to conserve their lands should not cloak the drama of this intercultural clash; the outcome long seemed in doubt to beleaguered Europeans. Indeed, without cooperation among Dutch, English, and French forces, the Island Caribs might well have delayed by decades the settlement of 1660 that legally restricted them to the quasi-reservation islands of Dominica and St. Vincent.

It was by no means coincidental that Dutch, English, and French settlers all arrived in the Lesser Antilles during the 1620s. In the larger context, the northern European invasion of the Caribbean must be situated in the same political, economic, and religious framework that explains their settlements on the North American continent. Three factors seem particularly important. All three societies had by the beginning of the seventeenth century settled temporarily their internal religious strife. Secondly, between 1598 and 1609 these powers signed peace treaties with Spain in which they refused to concede the Caribbean as Spain's mare nostrum. The concept of "no peace beyond the line" remained in force. Finally, political leaders, supported by the "mercantilist" premises of political economists, increasingly accepted the proposition that cash crops could be their New World "mines."[1]

In the immediate context of the 1620s, several strategic, political, and economic factors explain the simultaneous if uncoordinated French, En-

glish, and Dutch thrusts into the Caribbean. Certainly of great importance was the renewal of overt hostilities with Spain and, in the case of France, increasingly frigid cold war. After the end of the twelve-year truce (1609–21), the Dutch States-General, through the newly formed West India Company, increasingly contested Spanish claims to a Caribbean mare clausum. Spain's King Philip IV and his vigorous minister the count-duke Olivares found their initial continental gains against the Dutch and German Protestants offset by losses overseas; none was more dramatic than the astounding Dutch capture of the treasure fleet in 1628. It was in effect these Dutch naval spearheads that permitted northern Europeans to settle in the "Spanish Caribbean" with near impunity.[2] Making matters worse for Spain was the outbreak of war with England in 1624, an event related to the future Charles I's quixotic quest for a Spanish royal bride. It was during the four-year Anglo-Hispanic War (1624–28) that Charles I granted Thomas Warner St. Christopher and adjacent islands.[3] As for France, Cardinal Richelieu, principal minister to Louis XIII from 1624 to 1642, could not by the mid-1620s yet countenance overt actions against the Spanish (and Austrian) Habsburgs. His domestic priorities of controlling the dissident Huguenot faction and avoiding enmity with powerful pro-Spanish ultramontane Catholics made obligatory the maintenance of formal peace with Philip IV. Nevertheless, Richelieu quietly patronized the colonial company *(Compagnie de St. Christophe,* 1626–35), which established the first French settlement on St. Christopher.[4]

The strategic motives for colonization in the Lesser Antilles become apparent after even the briefest glance at the map and the most rudimentary knowledge of winds and currents. These rocky dots in the Caribbean were ideal jump-off points for assaults on Spain's vaunted American empire. In his memoirs Cardinal Richelieu was most explicit about what he believed to be the strategic potential of those island colonies.[5] The Dutch West India Company (1621–74) was less of a commercial syndicate than a strike force against the Spanish and Portuguese Atlantic possessions.[6] (Spain and Portugal were under Spanish Habsburg rule from 1580 to 1640.) English traders and raiders returned in force to the Caribbean after the declaration of war in 1624 overthrew what was to many Englishmen the ignominious Stuart pro-Spanish policy that had led among other outrages to the execution of Sir Walter Ralegh. Sea venturers would still have to fight for their lives in the Caribbean but would no longer have to worry about their reception upon returning home.

Permanent establishments in the Lesser Antilles (whether colonies or Dutch-style factories) could be used as entrepôts for the economic penetration of Spanish holdings. In times of peace or war, smuggling of slaves and European manufactures was a risky but often profitable business for northern Europeans. The Spanish-American empire was akin to a leaky

roof under a steady rain of European illicit trade with compliant colonists *(rescatadores),* who were being ruled by not always diligent officials. While the king and Council of the Indies repeatedly tried to patch the roof, they would discover only fresh leaks. In the first half of the seventeenth century, northern European ships were still as much intent on raiding Spanish shipping and assaulting colonial outposts; only in the second half of the century did illicit commerce *(rescate)* predominate. Still, it was the Dutch especially who appreciated the potential profits and responded with vigor against Spanish reprisals.[7]

The most immediate motive for European settlements in the Lesser Antilles was a quest for good tobacco land. During the first two decades of the century the Dutch and English, and to a lesser extent the French, exhibited strong interest in the region between the Amazon delta and the Orinoco as sites for tobacco plantations. Cornelis Goslinga and Joyce Lorimer have extensively discussed Anglo-Dutch enterprises in the Amazon and "Wild Coast."[8] Most of these settlements failed because of Portuguese countermeasures in the Amazon region and effective Spanish thrusts from Trinidad against the Guyanan colonies. It is noteworthy, however, that the first attempted English settlements in the Lesser Antilles were offshoots of these South American failures. In 1605, when a group sent to reinforce Charles Leigh's colony in Guyana could not reach it, they landed at St. Lucia. Having provoked Carib hostility, the colonists departed. Thomas Warner, previously unsuccessful in the Amazon region, put in at St. Christopher in 1620 to search for suitable tobacco land. He liked what he saw there.

When Warner's subsequent colonial expedition arrived at St. Christopher in 1624 and a small French party disembarked the following year, they found a small Carib settlement there, probably the most northern of the Lesser Antilles to contain a permanent aboriginal population. The Lesser Antilles are a chain of small, mountainous islands running about five hundred miles northwest from Trinidad and Tobago near the coast of South America to the Virgin Islands not far to the east of Puerto Rico and the Greater Antilles. Unlike the French, who call this island chain the Windward Islands, the English divide them into the southernmost Windwards and the tiny northwestern Leewards. Topographically, the islands range from relatively flat Barbados (a nonvolcanic island) to those like Nevis and Dominica, which appear as if mountains arose phoenixlike out of the sea. The bigger islands—Guadeloupe, Dominica, Martinique—are at the center of the chain. Some of the smaller islands, such as Marie Galante, do not contain sources of fresh water, whereas in Dominica there are, according to local legend, some 365 rivers (in fact, about 120). Some islands, such as Barbados and Grenada, for example, contain extensive arable acreage, while others, such as St. Martins and Barbuda, are nearly

Caribs in different stages of preparing manioc to make cassava cakes and *ouicou*, an alcoholic beverage. From Joseph Lafitau, *Moeurs des sauvages amériquains . . .* (Paris, 1724).
Note the European-made iron grate (left center).

barren. However, most contain enough fertile land and water to support at least small colonies. Finally, the Atlantic coasts of most of these islands were uninhabitable then because of the constant wind and the lack of harbors. (However, they were uninhabitable only for Europeans, for the natural resources of the Carib subsistence economy often flourished there, and the aborigines' skill with their pirogues and smaller craft allowed access to these windswept coasts. After the European arrival, the inaccessibility of these coasts to European shipping helps explain the Caribs' survival strategy.)[9]

On the eve of the northern European invasion, Caribs inhabited many of the Lesser Antilles, but it is impossible to determine their population density. Contemporary estimates range from the impossibly low figure of one thousand[10] to an improbable high count of twenty-five to thirty thousand.[11] A reasonable guess might be seven to fifteen thousand. Caribs did not inhabit fertile Barbados, although they apparently hunted and fished there. So near hostile Spanish settlements in Trinidad and Puerto Rico, Grenada and St. Christopher contained small communities. Caribs shared Grenada with their allies and kinsmen the Galibis of the Guianan coast. St. Vincent, Martinique, and Guadeloupe were among the most densely populated islands. After Europeans expelled them from St. Christopher, Guadeloupe, and other islands, many Caribs took refuge in the easily defended island of Dominica, which contained perhaps five thousand people by 1647, compared to an estimate of one thousand in 1606. This mountainous retreat, apparently only sparsely populated before 1492, was one of the final refuges from Spanish, French, and other European assaults. Notably, except for Rupert's Bay, Dominica lacks good harbors.[12]

Topography and Indian prudence prevented any serious demographic survey and account for such varied contemporary estimates of Island Carib population. Their remarkable navigational skills, making the Lesser Antilles a high-speed route for their pirogues, also inhibited accurate counts. Polygamous males moved frequently from island to island, visiting wives and relatives. War canoes constantly moved northwest to Puerto Rico and south to Trinidad and the mainland. Only toward the turn of the eighteenth century did any remotely reliable population figures become available. By then, Island Caribs had suffered such serious demographic decline due to disease, war, and emigration to the safer South American mainland that retroactive estimates are at best speculative.[13]

Island Caribs had an agricultural and fishing economy that demanded diverse ecological milieus. Their main staples were a flour made from the hurricane-resistant manioc rhizome and sweet potatoes. While their men prepared ground by slash and burn techniques typical of tropical Amazonian cultures, their women cultivated the roots and prepared manioc flour for cassava cakes. These were used not only as staple food but as the basis

for ritualistic meals. Masticated cassava cake was the main ingredient of their principal alcoholic beverage *(sákuti);* sweet potatoes also yielded an alcoholic drink. Other cultivated roots and vegetables included maize and the ubiquitous red-hot peppers that accompanied all Carib meals. Tobacco and cotton were the chief nonalimentary cultivated plants.[14] Caribs planted their gardens in various places in the islands to shelter them from hurricanes, manioc ants, and invaders. At Martinique and probably elsewhere the manioc patches were often located high in the more humid hills, making the women's tasks arduous indeed.[15] But Caribs of one island also planted on unoccupied islands to serve as centers of provision for war parties, hunters, and fishermen; in case of invasion, these islands served effectively as refugee centers. Such gardens also provided security against the devastation of hurricanes. Waterless Marie Galante provides an example of these practices. Contemporary sources indicate clearly that Caribs planted vegetables and sea island cotton there just prior to the beginning of the rainy season.[16]

Hunting and fishing practices illustrate further these aborigines' utilization of the natural resources of many unoccupied islands. On their home island, the men hunted small game, various fowl, and land crabs. They often went to different islands to capture sea turtles, whose shell Europeans prized.[17] Some evidence indicates that Caribs of one island maintained fish ponds on others.[18] All sources testify to their expertise as fishermen, whether in the open sea or lagoons and rivers. They also roamed wide areas to collect land crabs, fruits, nuts, building materials, and an amazing variety of medicinal herbs.[19] In short, Island Caribs had prudently created what could be labeled a "commuter" economy dependent on widely scattered natural resources. The universal comments of the chroniclers about the aborigines' robust health are evidence of their ecological adaptation.[20] Is it any wonder then that these people bitterly fought European settlement of "unoccupied" islands as well as of their own? Or that Caribs of one island helped those of another protect commonly exploited resources? Europeans did not understand that aboriginal agriculture and gathering demanded far more acreage than their own; indeed, most Europeans seriously underestimated the importance of agriculture to the Carib economy. Even fewer recognized the character of the commuter economy. Even if the invaders had, in colonial situations Europeans ordinarily refused to grant property rights to "unimproved" acreage.[21] What I have labeled a *commuter* existence seventeenth-century observers would have called *vagabondage,* a highly pejorative label. In sum, European occupation of the "unoccupied" Lesser Antilles was resisted on solid economic grounds as well as for more apparent strategic reasons.

JUST PRIOR TO the European invasion of the Lesser Antilles, increasing numbers of French, English, and Dutch ships sailed into Caribbean waters. In his relating an incident of an English landing on St. Lucia in 1605, John Nicholl initially described the native "Carebyes" as "most cruel cannibals, and man-eaters." Nevertheless, these purportedly naked, ugly, and devilish-looking savages, intent upon trade, approached the English ships with food and tobacco.[22] Carib anxieties grew, however, when the visitors put ashore with cannon. The English soothed these fears by claiming that these weapons were for defense against the hated Spaniard. A cautious trade ensued, often lubricated by spirits.[23] Soon, however, a number of conflicts arose, in part because of English attempts on Carib women.[24] Local Caribs, probably goaded by the arrival of a war party from neighboring St. Vincent, increasingly contested the English presence. At this point in his narrative, Nicholl unleashed a stream of screeching invective—"bloodthirsty enemies," "cruel, barbarous and inhumane peoples."[25] Unable to recognize what appears to have been divisions among the Caribs, the author leaves the reader mystified about subsequent events. After one skirmish, a Carib pirogue put ashore to sell the famished colonists cassava cakes. Shortly after, some Caribs, who "thirsted for nothing but to eate our flesh and drink our blood," nevertheless exchanged a pirogue for remaining English goods.[26] Although the author does not provide enough information to go beyond conjecture, it appears that initial friendly reception of the visitors turned quickly to hostility because of English faux pas and the length of their stay. The war party of St. Vincent Indians no doubt used these misgivings to promote war. However, one faction of Caribs anxious to obtain the remaining European goods allowed some of the English to escape a desperate situation.

Owing to its significance, a second episode, already mentioned in Chapter One, needs some elaboration here. The starving Frenchmen who put in at Martinique in 1619 were certainly not unfamiliar to the natives, but never before had so many Europeans stayed for such an extended visit. Initially, the Caribs were suspicious of the visitors because of recent maltreatment by a French vessel, but presents quickly allayed their misgivings.[27] Soon Caribs invited, indeed contested each other to have the French spend nights at their lodges *(carbets)*.[28] According to the author, such generosity stemmed from the natives' belief that their guests would protect them from the night visits of their evil spirits *(mabouyas)*.[29] The French thus had free run of the island for a lengthy period of time, and such latitude permitted the author an intensive investigation of Island Carib culture. Regrettably, his strikingly humane depiction of their customs remained unpublished. At the end of ten months, although some tension had arisen, Europeans and Caribs parted as close friends *(compères)*. The

Map of St. Christopher. From Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* . . . (Paris, 1722). *At the eastern end of the island, near the boundary with the English, was the estate of Governor Poincy* (logie de Mr/de Poincy).

next lengthy stay of Frenchmen at Martinique would not prove so fortunate for the island's aboriginal inhabitants.

Another episode concerns a visit of a Spanish ship to Dominica in 1625 in order to replenish its stores. Aboard was the author Thomas Gage, who writes that the Spanish regularly traded iron goods and cloth with the inhabitants for provisions. After initial contacts with the ship, Caribs heartily requested Spanish wine.[30] A party including Gage went ashore, visited Carib *carbets,* and even wandered in small groups about the island. All was harmonious until a Jesuit insisted that the Spanish forcibly remove a Christian mulatto captive, and his Indian wife and children from the island. As Gage puts it, in the face of this demand the "barbarians mutinied."[31] Thus, because of the desire for European commodities, even the hated Spanish were tolerated in Carib islands in 1625—that is, as long as native customs were not violated.

These and other accounts permit a brief summary of Carib attitudes toward Europeans on the eve of conquest. Greatly desiring an exchange of commodities, even with the Spaniards, their perennial foe, Island Caribs allowed *visits*—even long, temporary residence—as long as their customs, women, and gardens were respected. On the other hand, they treated with hostility Europeans who demonstrated an intent to occupy lands permanently. Such was the case in 1625 and 1626, within a year of European establishments at St. Christopher.

ST. CHRISTOPHER, the birthplace of both the English and French West Indian empires, lies toward the northwestern end of the Lesser Antillean arc. Somewhat remote from ordinary Spanish navigational tracks, this little island became a refuge for northern European adventurers. Its close proximity to the Spanish Greater Antilles was probably part of its attraction, as was its relatively small Carib population. Blessed with adequate water and fertile soil appropriate for tobacco, St. Christopher possessed all of the qualities that Thomas Warner sought as he surveyed the Lesser Antillean chain. When the corsair captain Pierre Belain d'Esnambuc refitted his battered ship and rested his beleaguered crew there in 1625 he was received hospitably by the English and Caribs.[32] Thus, this Norman captain also liked what he saw at St. Christopher.

Thomas Warner and Belain d'Esnambuc, the fathers of two powerful Caribbean empires, were both strong leaders much beloved by their men. Bred in the military traditions of the minor nobility, both men demonstrated again and again the fortitude and daring of the pure leader; but both also showed themselves adept at court politics. After positive evaluations of the potential of St. Christopher, Warner and d'Esnambuc established companies to raise capital and secure patents from Charles I and Louis XIII respectively. Warner received the governorship of St. Christopher and

adjacent islands.[33] D'Esnambuc had the good fortune to present his proposals to Richelieu at the moment the Cardinal was embarking on a far-reaching naval program.[34] The first minister agreed to invest money and ships in the Company of the Island of St. Christopher. In 1629, Richelieu even dispatched royal vessels to protect the island against a Spanish fleet, a luxury that the penurious Charles I was unable to grant Warner.[35]

In comparing the charter of the Company of St. Christopher with the Stuart grant to Warner, it is immediately striking that both documents consider the inhabitants as potentially hostile.[36] Although Warner's grant claims that the English started their settlement at St. Christopher "with the consent and good likening of the Natives," he received full jurisdictional power over these "savages."[37] So did the French company. Not a word is devoted to evangelization of the natives in the English grant, whereas the few phrases in the French document about instructing the aborigines in the Catholic faith and accepting those converted as naturalized Frenchmen are not buttressed by specific recommendations supporting the proposed missions.[38] Available evidence points to but one or two priests in the islands between 1626 and 1635.[39]

Both Warner and d'Esnambuc had great success in recruiting labor for their projected colony. Indentured servants were deemed necessary for tobacco culture because the Guyanan experiments seemed to demonstrate the inappropriateness of Indian labor. Neither French nor English enslaved Island Caribs except as personal servants and food provisioners. Of great importance to their recruiting success no doubt was these leaders' reputation in their home regions from where the servants came. The master–servant relationship was highly personal in this period and it had not yet acquired the negative connotation it would by the 1660s—that of white slavery.[40] In a larger context, the recruitments of 1625 to 1628 may in part be explained by the increasing economic misery in England and France. Political, diplomatic, and even religious factors explain the greater numbers of English recruits.[41] After all, Warner was recruiting in the same East Anglian villages as his neighbor and friend John Winthrop would a couple of years later. Resentment against Stuart political and religious policies were important "pushes"; the reputation of the Indies as a source of riches and the chance to pique Spanish pride were undoubtedly the "pulls" that attracted young males. In the case of d'Esnambuc and Normandy, the lure of quick wealth via corsair activities and tobacco culture were the decisive factors; after all, Canada, considered by most Frenchmen to be a frozen wasteland, attracted few emigrants or indentured servants in this period despite intense propaganda efforts in France.[42]

Warner had a head start in the race to populate the islands and, although exact figures are unavailable, the rapid settlement of Nevis (1628) as well as Antigua and Montserrat (1632) suggest that the English maintained that

lead. Only in 1635 would surplus French population from St. Christopher colonize Martinique. The two nations divided St. Christopher with the English occupying the center while the French settled at both ends of the island. Sometimes tensions were high in these early years, especially when the mother nations were at war between 1628 and 1632, but cooperation against Spanish and Carib forces generally characterized the English-French relationship.

As with so much else in this "Heroic Age" of settlement, facts are few about a supposed conspiracy of St. Christopher Caribs that occasioned a joint Anglo-French liquidation campaign against them. The European archives contain next to nothing, leaving the historian dependant on contemporary chronicles. As early as 1625 Caribs attacked the embryonic English settlement. The following year, when the aborigines purportedly conspired with neighboring Caribs to exterminate the still-weak European settlements, a native woman named Barbe exposed the "plot." So advised, Warner and d'Esnambuc's men massacred one hundred Caribs in their hammocks. Soon thereafter the armed colonists met and repulsed with heavy losses an invading Carib party.[43] Although the modern historian is skeptical about preemptive attacks,[44] two factors give some credence to the chroniclers' accounts. First, the Dominican historian and principal source, Father Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, was no blind apologist for French colonialism. He often accused his countrymen of starting later French-Carib conflicts. Second, the narrative, when stripped of ethnocentric language, is not an implausible account of probable Carib reactions to the European intrusion into St. Christopher. By 1626 Warner had transported hundreds of colonists to reinforce the tiny original settlement, and d'Esnambuc had established a smaller party of French. No longer able to doubt the permanency of European settlements, St. Christopher Caribs might well have dispatched requests for help and organized a *ouicou* to coincide with the full moon. Whatever the facts, and they can not be ascertained with any certainty, the European "solution" to the Carib "problem" ensured that these aborigines would fiercely contest Anglo-French expansion from St. Christopher.

The English occupation of Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua after 1628 was presumably the result of population pressures on St. Christopher. Thomas Warner directed this migration of tobacco farmers and appointed his first son, Edward, as first governor of neighboring Antigua. Although probably "unoccupied" by Caribs, settlement of these islands was not unopposed. The aborigines prevented an English establishment in Barbuda, north of Antigua, and they frequently attacked the latter island after 1632. Because the colonists did not leave memoirs and as there were no missionaries to compose reports, the evidence for these years remains skimpy. One Antiguan legend tells the story of the Carib capture of Ed-

ward Warner's wife and children in a night attack in 1640. To prevent one of the children's cries from exposing their escape route, Caribs purportedly dashed the child's head against a rock. Edward Warner is said to have pursued the attackers and rescued his wife.[45] How striking this paucity of evidence must be to the student of Jamestown or Massachusetts Bay!

French expansion to Martinique and Guadeloupe after 1635 was the result of land hunger in the islands and realpolitik at home. With France's entry into the anti-Habsburg coalition in 1635, Richelieu reorganized the moribund Company of St. Christopher to create a more aggressive colonial spearhead. Under the leadership of François Fouquet, the renamed Company of the Islands of America prepared a large expedition to occupy Guadeloupe.[46] Without the company's official sanction, an armed force from St. Christopher led by d'Esnambuc and his equally well-known nephew, Jacques Dyel Du Parquet, established a fortified outpost at Martinique. In a letter to Richelieu, d'Esnambuc insisted on the threat a French Martinique would pose to Spain's American empire.[47] To coin a phrase, this was music to the Cardinal's ear. Martinique and Guadeloupe contained important Carib populations and separating these islands was another of their strongholds, Dominica. D'Esnambuc asked Richelieu's permission to conquer the latter island because "the English have a grand design" toward it.[48] Obviously these concerted French thrusts posed the most direct threat yet to Carib dominance of the Lesser Antilles.

Unlike its predecessor, the Company of the Islands of America supported missions in the Lesser Antilles.[49] Richelieu's active promotion of missionary efforts in 1635 may be related to his need to placate ultramontane Catholic forces because of France's entry into the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side. Also, Richelieu wanted to gain pro-French Pontiff Urban VIII's official concurrence to activities that would formally abrogate the hallowed if hollow ban on non-Iberians in the Caribbean. Much more sincerely religious in motivation were the directors of this company, some of whom were *dévots,* upper-class, zealous Catholics so active in this era's evangelical enterprises. In 1636 four Dominican monks arrived at Guadeloupe, where a number of their Spanish brethren had suffered martyrdom from 1603 to 1604.[50] Three Capuchins (reformed Franciscans) settled at St. Christopher in 1638, and two years later the first Jesuits installed themselves at Martinique. Although these missionaries were to have but slight evangelical success with the aborigines, their role in French-native relations proved crucial. Moreover, they left accounts of the early years of French colonization that evoke from the historian a reverent *Deo gratias,* especially after encountering the blank pages of the early English Antilles.

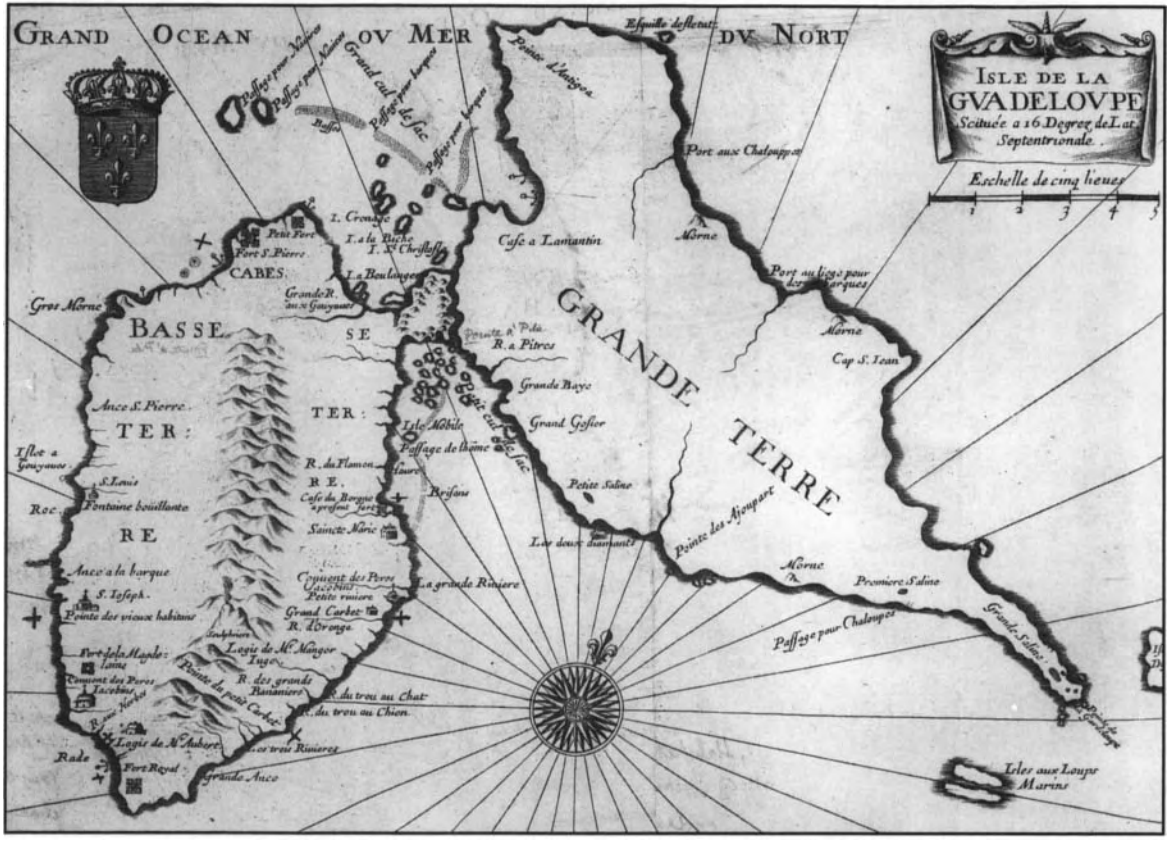
The Island Carib response to the coming of the French was initially a cautious welcome. At Martinique the well-armed and experienced 100–

150-man force must have intimidated the Indians. They could not have forgotten so quickly the cataclysmic events of St. Christopher. Yet they received the French cordially until d'Esnambuc erected a fort.[51] At Guadeloupe, the Dominican Pierre Pelican described the friendly reception he received in 1635. He gained Carib confidence by telling them that he had come to fight the evil spirits *(mabouyas)* that plagued them. Also, the good father wisely dispensed much wine to his assembled hosts. Caribs are not to be feared, he writes, "since we hope to gain by gentleness the naturals of this island without much difficulty as they are few in numbers and *assez bien nés pour des sauvages* [of reasonably good birth for savages]."[52]

The native welcome did not last long. After a number of violent incidents, the French at Martinique were able to impose a de facto division of the island with the Caribs relegated to the windward side (capesterre) and the colonists on the leeward coast (basseterre). Thanks to the pragmatism of Du Parquet, who arrived as governor in 1637, a tenuous peace held for more than a decade. The story was very different at Guadeloupe. There, 350 unseasoned colonists directly from France predictably failed to adjust to their strange new environment.[53] Weakened badly by various diseases and on the brink of starvation, they followed their governor Pierre Liénarde de l'Olive in confiscatory raids on Carib gardens and reserved food supplies. Father Du Tertre unhesitatingly condemned these French actions for provoking a long and bitter struggle (1636–41). Despite terrible hardships and with timely help from St. Christopher, the colonists succeeded in eliminating most Caribs from Guadeloupe.[54]

Occupation of Martinique and Guadeloupe made the mountainous island of Dominica a strategically important place because it lies between them. In France, the new Company of the Islands of America showed interest in Dominica, as there are reports of its agents there in 1636. The minutes of the company assembly in the same year indicate its instructions to punish severely a Frenchman whose kidnapping of some Dominican Caribs had provoked a reprisal against scattered French settlers there.[55] A couple of years later the company authorized Philippe de Longvilliers de Poincy, governor of St. Christopher and captain-general of the French islands, to occupy Dominica because of fears that the English would do so first.[56] Nothing came of this proposal.

After the pacification of Guadeloupe, the Dominican priest Raymond Breton proposed a mission to Dominica. Initially opposed by the new lieutenant-general of Guadeloupe, Pierre Aubert (1640–43), who had recently concluded peace with local Caribs, Breton and a colleague set out for an exploratory mission to Dominica. The Carib "captain" Le Baron, a special friend of the French, promised protection.[57] However, the recent Carib expulsion from Guadeloupe created a receptive climate for warnings



Map of Guadeloupe. From Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique* . . . (Paris, 1722). *Caribs were relegated to Grande Terre before their final expulsion.*

of shamans that the priests were but the vanguard of a French occupation, and the missionaries' stay was briefer than planned. News of this visit provoked a stiff protest from Poincy, the king's top man in the islands. This knight of Malta, an ambitious, arrogant, and tough naval officer whom Richelieu wished far away,[58] insisted to Breton's superiors that he had no means to protect the missionaries. If they suffered martyrdom, then the French colonists would have to undertake a difficult, probably futile campaign against the aborigines. Furthermore, Poincy noted, the inferior number of French at his island of St. Christopher kept their English neighbors in check only out of fear of currently warm Gallo-Carib relations. Some years would pass before Breton could launch the mission to Dominica that merited him the title, Apostle to the Caribs.[59]

By the later 1630s, burgeoning European populations in the islands increased pressure for expansion. With perhaps as many as twenty thousand inhabitants in the English islands—more than half at Barbados[60]—and upwards of seven thousand in the French possessions,[61] the hunger for fresh land grew apace. From the later 1630s to the early 1650s windward islands such as Tobago, Grenada, and St. Lucia and Barbuda, Marie Galante, St. Martins, and several smaller "leeward" islands were the focus of Dutch, English, and French initiatives. For strategic and economic reasons, Island Caribs fought bitterly and usually with success to destroy the infant settlements.

Due to economic, religious, and political turmoil in France and England during the 1640s, increasingly autonomous colonial officials largely directed this latest wave of expansion. Attempts by the Company of the Islands of America to control the strong man Poincy failed after Richelieu's death in 1642, even when the Regency government of Anne of Austria lent its support. Poincy unceremoniously returned his would-be replacement to Paris.[62] The broken and nearly bankrupt company attempted to liquidate its debts by selling the islands to their governors. Acting on behalf of the Knights of Malta, Poincy obtained St. Christopher and its dependencies; Charles Houel, governor of Guadeloupe since 1643, purchased that island as well as Marie Galante, while Du Parquet acquired Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, and the Grenadines. These vigorous proprietors proceeded quickly to occupy their new property because the English also lusted after these islands.

Downwind from Barbados, St. Lucia was the destination of three unrelated English expeditions in the years 1637–40. Thomas Warner dispatched the first. According to patchy evidence, the colonists lived at peace with local Caribs for eighteen months before a seemingly unrelated event doomed this and a subsequent English group from Bermuda. In 1639 an English ship sporting a French flag treacherously took either two or four natives of Dominica as slaves.[63] Caribs held responsible all the

Map of Dominica. From Bryan Edwards, *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793).
From the 1620s on, Dominica was a refuge for displaced Caribs. After the British conquest of 1763, Caribs were given a "reserve" along the windward coast south of Pagoua Bay.

people of a nation for crimes against them; after all, prior to making war did not they hold a *ouicou,* at which all warriors concurred in decisions? Caribs drove the English from St. Lucia, then later the same year (1640) used the exotic tactic of burning red-hot peppers to smoke out another settlement. That same year, an English effort backed by the Duke of Warwick to settle Tobago failed because of Indian raids, and when the colonists escaped to Trinidad, Carib pressure forced them to leave. Warner sent a group to Marie Galante in 1640, with the same results. In 1642 a second Warwick-sponsored effort at Tobago was also unsuccessful, for the same reason.[64] Island Caribs had dramatically thwarted English attempts to dominate the Lesser Antilles.

The French, not the Caribs, were the ultimate beneficiaries of the fierce indigenous resistance to English expansion. Numerically weaker than the English and having already suffered the terrors of guerrilla war, island colonists and their governors usually pursued the path of diplomacy.[65] At Guadeloupe, Aubert had inaugurated a successful policy that his successors imitated. Upon arriving in 1640 he had gone to Dominica, and with the help of presents and much brandy concluded peace with the natives.[66] He then exchanged hostages, and one of these—"Captain" Le Baron's son—came to live with Houel as his "son."[67] Aubert had also engaged in the potentially dangerous game of giving Caribs firearms for use against their Arawak enemies.[68] His successor Houel served as parent for a number of young Island Caribs and established a school for young girls that accepted Caribs. According to contemporaries, Dominican Caribs much esteemed him.[69] By the mid-1640s the bonds between French and Caribs were strong enough to permit Father Breton to live at Dominica. It seems reasonable to conclude that owing to these and other conciliatory French gestures Island Caribs made peace in order to concentrate their forces against the rapidly expanding English isles; in short, this was realpolitik Carib-style.[70]

By the end of the 1640s the political dynamics of the Euro-Carib relationship were in flux. Chastened by the earlier debacles, English colonies became less expansive. The great pioneer and sponsor of many expeditions Thomas Warner died in 1649. Other factors also helped check English designs on Carib islands. Although far more important in Barbados than in the Leewards, the sugar revolution of the 1640s occupied the energies of emerging island elites. The Parliamentary-Royal conflicts in England also promoted caution concerning expansion; questions about the legitimacy of land titles to newly conquered islands became matters of concern to colonists. After Cromwell came to power, most islands maintained a neutral stand—except for Barbados, where Governor Francis, Lord Willoughby, was an avowed royalist. A fleet sent out in 1651 returned that royalist island to Parliamentary control. (In such uncertain circum-

stances, it is not surprising that few colonial endeavors are reported in the archives.) Finally, in 1655 Cromwell's Western Design dramatically refocused English goals in the Caribbean to the non-Carib island of Jamaica. Despite a decline of English interest in occupying Carib isles, there was no peace as aborigines continued their periodic raids, especially against Antigua.[71]

The year 1648 marked a new phase in French-Island Carib relations. In that crucial year, the bankrupt Company of the Islands of America started selling its islands to their governors, which in effect liberated the new proprietors from metropolitan control. In any event, France itself was in the throes of civil war (the Fronde, 1648–53). At the same time, population growth and economic development increased rapidly in the islands. Some of the largest planters, most notably the proprietors themselves, began the transition to sugar. The reliable Dutch furnished the necessary European goods, almost always on credit, and provided sure outlets for island products. In these circumstances the proprietors moved confidently to occupy adjacent islands. In 1648 some fifty French settled on St. Barthélemy,[72] a dependency of St. Christopher. Houel's forces occupied Marie Galante and the Saints.

It was, however, the aggressive actions of the dynamic Du Parquet, proprietor of Martinique, that caused the great fissure with the Island Caribs. Despite much tension, he had maintained peace with the approximately four hundred Caribs remaining on the island. According to contemporaries, the natives greatly feared and respected the governor. Having recently purchased Martinique, Grenada, and St. Lucia from the company, he moved quickly to occupy the latter islands. In 1649 he "bought" Grenada from the Carib "chief" Kaierouane for some liquor and ironware, although the latter begrudged the French fait accompli. Under an experienced colonist, Le Comte, who got on well with the inhabitants, a party built a fort there. However, inevitable misunderstandings soon transpired. The "chief" had "sold" the island on the condition that his people keep their *carbets* and gardens and that the French reside in a precisely delimited area. After French settlements and forts multiplied, conflict became inevitable. Caribs from neighboring St. Vincent, enraged by Du Parquet's destruction of some of their villages, joined their Grenadan brothers. Du Parquet sent a relief force that, with the aid of a Carib traitor, surprised the aborigines in the midst of a drunken *ouicou*. Most were massacred, but some forty trapped Caribs committed mass suicide by jumping off the cliff later called *La Morne des sauteurs*.[73] Remaining Caribs were reduced to conducting guerrilla actions against a growing French presence. In 1650 Du Parquet dispatched forty men under Rousselan to St. Lucia. Well respected by the natives in part because of his Carib wife, Rousselan main-

tained a fragile peace for four years.[74] Nevertheless, Du Parquet's expansionary policies portended troubling times.

By the late 1640s and during the early 1650s the question of black slaves in Carib communities posed an increasingly troublesome issue in Euro-Carib relations. Since the sixteenth century Island Caribs had captured Africans from Spanish Puerto Rico. As with Indian prisoners of war, African men were used to construct pirogues and clear land for gardens, while the women performed agricultural and other "female" tasks. Caribs allowed these slaves to marry, but usually killed both adults and children upon the master's death. That Caribs despised their African servants is evident from the Carib word for kinky hair, a great insult for these people so enamored of their long, dark, straight hair. Yet Caribs highly prized these slaves. According to one early account (1620), Africans supplied all of the labor in the Island Carib version of heaven.[75] With the influx of Africans into the Lesser Antilles by the 1640s, increasing numbers came into Carib hands by the direct method of capture or the indirect one of runaways *(marronage)*. Contemporary sources strongly intimate that Caribs increasingly emerged as middlemen in the illicit commerce of runaway and captured slaves. Indeed, Carib raids may often have had the goal of capturing slaves for sale. Europeans who had no scruples about buying these slaves no doubt expressed outrage when Caribs stole theirs.

Despite unresolved tensions, in early 1653 Du Parquet allowed the establishment of a Jesuit mission at the Carib stronghold of St. Vincent. The Jesuits had had some contact with capesterre Caribs of Martinique, and the priests favorably received an invitation from Baba, a great "captain" at St. Vincent. It is difficult not to think that Baba looked upon the Jesuits as hostages; after all, his own nephews lived in the household of Du Parquet. Fathers Aubergeon, who knew the native language, and Gueimu received a cordial welcome. Unfortunately for their bodies if not their souls, Baba did not prove to be as stout a friend of the French as "Captain" Le Baron, who was able to protect the missionaries at Dominica during the forthcoming general war.[76]

In 1653, a Carib war party returning from a devastating raid on English Antigua stopped at Marie Galante, where the tiny French settlement of thirty men provided the usual welcome. When these Indians reached home at Dominica (capesterre) they found that a few French renegades had raped some of their women and stolen hammocks. After much discussion, Caribs from one *carbet* exacted revenge by wiping out the Marie Galante settlement. Some evidence indicates that their leader was the half-breed son of Sir Thomas Warner, "Indian" Warner, who would in the future play an important if obscure role in Euro-Carib relations. This act of revenge included the distinctly non-Carib act of placing the decapitated French

heads on poles facing Guadeloupe.[77] Fearful of French wrath, basseterre Caribs (Dominica), led by "Captain" Le Baron, informed Houel that they had nothing to do with the outrage and that they would help find the perpetrators. Guided by some ten pro-French Caribs, Houel's forces killed a few purportedly culpable Indians. There the matter tentatively rested, but across the island chain French-Carib tensions increased palpably.

Full-scale war broke out in 1654. French expansionism was the root cause of the conflict. Du Parquet's occupation of the Grenadines (Bequia especially) was the most recent evidence of French insatiability. A devastating hurricane that shamans ascribed to the *mabouyas'* anger at their reception of the Jesuits added to the unease of St. Vincent Caribs. A French trader's beating of a Carib "chief" there seriously aggravated the situation.[78] After the usual *ouicou,* St. Vincent Caribs killed the two Jesuits and their two assistants. They next attacked the French at St. Lucia, a task facilitated by the settlers' unconcern for danger after four years of peace. In response, Du Parquet sent 150 men and three ships to St. Vincent with orders to annihilate every Carib located, including women and children.[79] After an ingenious Carib defense that included loading their pirogues with sand and placing them end to end as an impediment to musket fire, the French gained a measure of revenge. Another Du Parquet expedition assaulted Carib forces at Grenada. By the end of 1655 the St. Vincent Caribs sued for peace. Interestingly, Black Caribs, the offspring of Caribs and either maroons or captured slaves, made their presence felt in this conflict. Within decades these former slaves would contest control of St. Vincent with their former masters.

Fighting between French and Island Caribs broke out anew after a brief truce. The French at Martinique were irate because during the war Caribs had captured many black slaves; indeed, one estimate put the loss at five hundred.[80] Du Parquet's execution of ten Caribs found guilty of murder during the first stage of the conflict angered their countrymen.[81] They responded with a massive invasion of French Martinique, which nearly succeeded in ending European control. Only the fortuitous intervention of Dutch ships saved the settlers. In the course of this campaign some two thousand Caribs from Martinique and Dominica aided by fugitive slaves *(marrons)* had besieged Du Parquet's compound![82] Destruction was heavy and many slaves were carried off. In 1656 the French abandoned St. Lucia and during 1657 Caribs seriously threatened the French settlements at Grenada. However, the exhausted Caribs offered a truce in late 1657. The French extracted a promise from the Caribs to return captured slaves and not to harbor maroons.[83]

The killing of three Martiniquan colonists by Caribs, apparently revenge for the capture of Baba's nephew at St. Vincent, proved to be the immediate cause of the final phase of this five-year war.[84] However, the

intelligent, objective Father Du Tertre put his finger on the underlying cause, the colonists' cry of *Caribbeana delenda est* ("the Caribs must be destroyed"). The bitterness of previous conflicts and the economic impact of loss of slaves left many settlers determined to expel all Caribs from Martinique. Du Parquet having died, the island was rife with factional opposition to the rule of his strong-willed wife. The colonists' hostility to their feared neighbors could no longer be contained. Du Parquet had always insisted that colonists distinguish between friendly and unfriendly Caribs, but now the memory of his sage advice could no longer contain the torrents of hatred. When Martiniquan Caribs protested their innocence of the three murders, the council pretended to be satisfied. However, after some individuals took private revenge by murdering a number of Caribs, including the great pro-French "captain" Nicholas, the council ordered an all-out attack. Many Caribs, including women and children, were massacred. Most of the survivors left for Dominica and St. Vincent with only a small remnant finding refuge in the most remote mountains of Martinique.

At Grenada, Governor Valmainier's refusal to return two refugee slaves to their Carib owners seriously heightened tensions during 1658. After the death of Nicholas at Martinique, which, according to Father Bresson, was a "great shame to the French name," a Carib force from Dominica captained by "Indian" Warner and ostensibly on its way to the Main arrived at Grenada. Instead, Warner launched a "sneak" night attack on an unsuspecting French ship and killed all the crew. Then on a Sunday morning when Warner, raised in the Anglican faith, knew that the French would be at church, the Caribs wreaked havoc and captured much booty. Thanks to the refusal of the new governor, Du Bu, to interrupt his Sunday pleasures to lead the militia, the Dominican Caribs easily escaped. The chronicler Bresson accused Du Bu of being in "Indian" Warner's pay![85]

In 1659, French and English island officials convoked by Poincy concluded a treaty of alliance against all Island Caribs.[86] This document plausibly asserts that Caribs "always had the craft and the subtlety to make peace with one of the two nations before they would enterprise anything against the other." The parties agreed to restrict the aborigines to the islands of Dominica and St. Vincent. Governors Houel of Guadeloupe and Roger Osborne of Montserrat were to maintain constant contact to foster the alliance's goals. It fell to Houel through the good offices of the Dominican priest Beaumont and the Jesuit Du Vivier to bring together fifteen Carib "chiefs" to sign a proposed peace treaty.[87] The chiefs promised to try to persuade all Caribs to cease hostilities, to return slaves, and to allow missionaries on Dominica and St. Vincent in return for guarantees of those islands in perpetuity. Houel, the priests, and a representative of Du Parquet signed the treaty and sent it to the English governors of the Leewards.

The governor of Barbados did *not* initial the accord, but whether he was requested to do so is uncertain.[88]

In 1660, the islands settled down to peace. According to one source, "Indian" Warner and his Caribs traveled to Antigua to make peace.[89] The council at Martinique allowed the nephews of Baba, imprisoned during the conflict, to go free and voted to restore the policy of gratuities to Caribs.[90] Manifestly defeated in their strategy to oppose any further European expansion, the natives at least maintained two strongholds. But the era of proud independence was coming to a close. Future security would depend on the maintenance of peace or, in case of conflict, alliance with one of the European powers.

In forthcoming decades the French won the battle to secure Island Carib loyalties. Already by 1660 French and English commentators remarked about the seemingly implacable Carib antipathy to the English. English actions, especially rogue kidnappings for the purpose of enslavement, seriously damaged relations with Caribs. It is apparent that most English officials and colonists displayed the same lack of understanding of or indifference to such crucial indigenous customs as gift-giving as did their cousins from Virginia to Acadia.[91] The preceding narrative reveals a few other factors that help explain future Carib preference for a French alliance despite recent bitter warfare and their expulsion from Martinique.

First, the French bore the brunt of the fighting during the 1650s struggle and fought brutally and effectively. Caribs certainly feared French power and respected their ability to fight like "savages." These Indians highly respected courageous enemies; they put captured Arawaks through elaborate torture and admired stoic refusal to admit pain. In contrast, Island Caribs reportedly viewed the English as pusillanimous, unworthy opponents. Indeed, since the initial European "victory" at St. Christopher, there had apparently been few English successes against Caribs. The role of the unknown numbers of French who frequented Carib islands to hunt, "fish" for manatees and turtles, cut wood, and trade with the natives was a related factor. These island roamers *(coureurs des îles)* knew Island Carib languages, customs, and terrain. Some took Carib "wives" and went about in native "dress" and "paint."[92] These traders' knowledge and toughness also facilitated French invasions of Carib strongholds. Perhaps because of the lack of annual Jesuit reports, far less is known about these adventurers than of their Canadian counterparts, the famous woods runners *(coureurs de bois)*.

The missionaries gave the French a further considerable advantage over the English. Although the Jesuits at St. Vincent were not able to keep the peace in the 1650s, they returned to the island after 1660. The Dominicans, Breton and his successors, were able to attenuate Carib hostility to the French at Dominica. Fathers Breton and Beaumont, the mediators be-

tween Houel and Carib leaders in 1659, were reportedly much esteemed by their hosts.[93] It is even possible that Island Caribs considered them hostages for French good conduct. But most important of all, the missionaries kept open a line of communication with the French. When in 1645 black slaves of St. Vincent Caribs massacred some French at St. Lucia, frightened Dominican Caribs had Breton explain to Houel that they had nothing to do with the atrocity.[94] There can be no doubt that the missionaries attempted to ameliorate the colonists' conduct toward the natives. While by no means can these efforts be considered wholly successful, the continuing presence of the *coureurs des îles* and the missionaries meant that the French were not *strangers* to Island Caribs, as were the English.

IN FRANCE AND England, literary images of "Carib cannibals" changed but negligibly during this "Heroic Age" of conquest. In part, the tenacity of preconquest images reflected the paucity of updated information about the natives, especially in the case of England. Compared to New France (Acadia, Canada, Great Lakes) and the continental English colonies, the islands received scant literary attention. For the period 1607–1713, only 25 books and pamphlets about the English West Indies were published, compared to 167 such works about the continental settlements.[95] The English islands had neither the missionary relations characteristic of the French colonies nor the significant Puritan elite that publicized New England. Their settlers for the most part were unmarried males searching for fortunes, without time for family, schools, churches, or literature. Also, when the prolific propaganda role of the Virginia Company is recalled, the lack of any such dynamic organization for the Antilles helps explain the poverty of information. Finally, the hispanophile policy of the early Stuarts (excepting 1624–28) may have stifled public exposition of England's growing interest in the Caribbean. To be sure, traders, planters, and indentured servants in large numbers found their way to the Antilles without the benefit of literary propaganda.[96]

Two factors explain why in France the far more populous Antillean colonies received less literary attention than New France. First, Cardinal Richelieu and his agents discouraged publicity before 1635 to avoid conflict with Spain and her sympathizers in France. When war with Spain in 1635 removed these restrictions, a few accounts appeared, but no Champlains or Lescarbots chronicled the first decade of Antillean settlement.[97] Secondly, although missionaries did commence work in the islands after 1635 they published relations more sporadically than did their counterparts in New France. The lack of annual Jesuit Relations was especially significant. This order served only Martinique and St. Vincent, and its success among Caribs was so meager that Jesuits soon shifted their evangelical eyes southwards toward the teeming continent. Only two

Jesuit relations about the islands appeared before 1660.[98] Zealous Catholic readers preferred missionary accounts of New France, perhaps owing to lingering suspicions about French intrusions into the "Spanish Caribbean" which had long had Huguenot associations.

Capuchin, Carmelite, and especially Dominican missionaries composed the chief accounts of the French Antilles, and it is thanks to them that significant information concerning this era and Island Carib culture has survived.[99] Although these priests certainly did not hold identical views of Caribs, colonial and evangelical imperatives limited the range of discourse. On the one hand, these missionary authors could not depict the aborigines as noble savages. Not only were such descriptions theologically dangerous given Roman Catholic beliefs about the post–Garden of Eden corruptibility of human nature, but they would have called into question the very necessity of evangelization. Although they touted Carib virtues, often to shame European readers that such a "rustic" people frequently acted better than civilized men, these missionary authors never ignored the natives' abhorrent vices and disquieting habits.[100] Nor could these authors, even the Dominicans with the example of las Casas in their tradition, argue for evangelization without colonization. Not only did they believe that civilization was the sine qua non of the conversion experience, but the Company of the Islands of America and royal officials insisted upon the link. The missionaries, of course, depended on the company for financial support,[101] but their advocacy of colonization as the indispensable framework for evangelization reflected a strong belief that only colonists could guarantee their safety.[102] Furthermore, the good example of Frenchmen would encourage Carib conversion, so the formula stated, although the reader can occasionally sense the Dominicans' unease about such a bold assertion. The rowdy behavior of the early, typically autonomous settlers must have made some of these authors pause before repeating these pieties.[103]

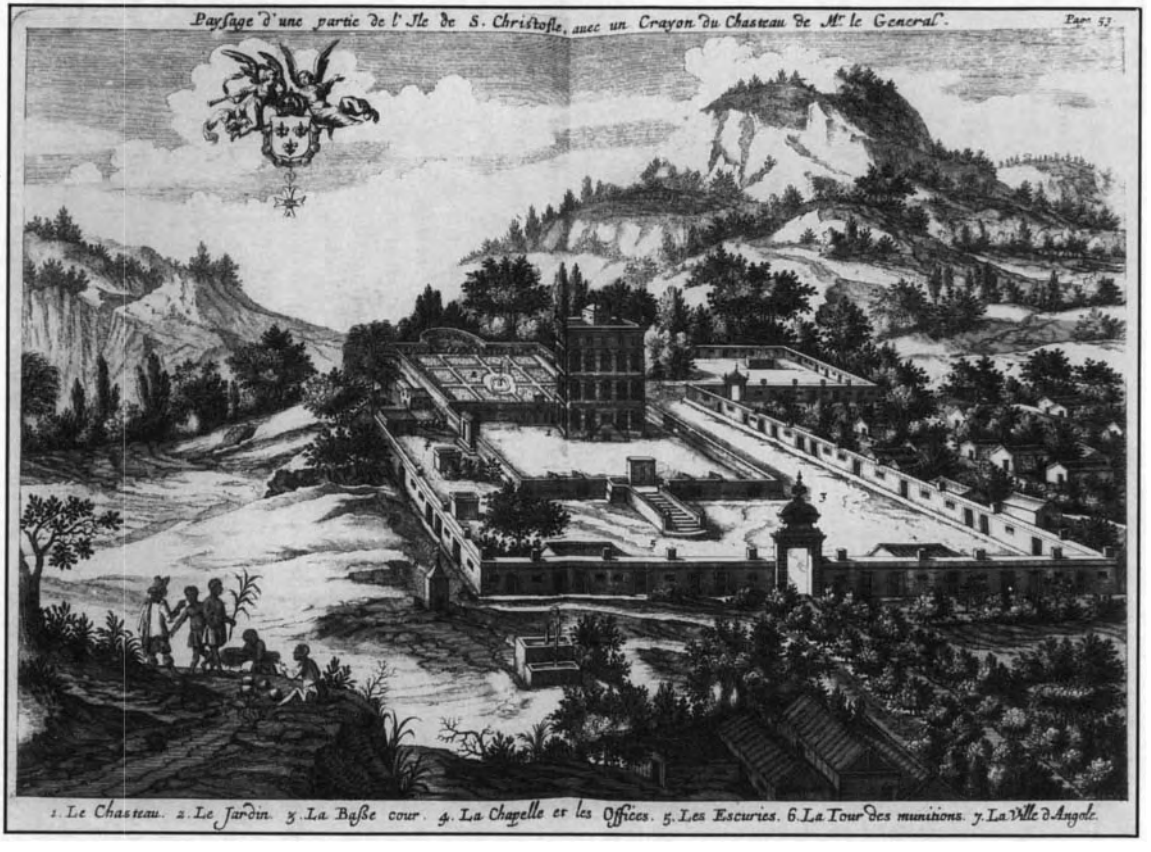
On the other hand, the missionaries could hardly express pessimism in public about their charges' potential for Christianization. For this reason and because Island Carib "cannibals" elicited such negative responses from French readers, these authors tend to represent them in a relatively favorable light. They attribute disapproved Carib customs and vices to the devil's sway among them, to abuse of alcohol, and to the Europeans' unjust behavior and nefarious influence. Father Du Tertre, for example, asserts that it was Satan's persuasion that led the Caribs to plan the massacre of the French and English at St. Christopher in 1626.[104] When free of satanic influence as a result of missionary enterprise, these Caribs would become simple, charitable, and sober people, ripe candidates for Christ's harvest.[105] This was the opinion of Father Breton, whose manuscript writings influenced all later Dominican accounts.[106] The very knowledge

that a Breton could live and sleep among these reputed cannibals must have had a beneficial impact on readers. In short, given the many Island Carib virtues described in these accounts, is it unreasonable to assume that some readers concurred with the missionaries' favorable appraisal of the Caribs' potential as Christians?

What, then, explains the apparently slight impact these missionaries had on transforming traditionally negative images of Island Caribs? None of their books was printed more than once and, with the rather important exception of Du Tertre, their influence on metropolitan littérateurs was marginal. Usually written in an unpretentious, even unpolished style, these works appeared between 1640 and the 1660s in an intellectual climate that was increasingly skeptical of such accounts. The Jesuit authors especially were targets of Huguenot, Jansenist, and libertine critics.[107] Even well-disposed readers, and there were undoubtedly many in the fervent twilight of the Catholic Reformation, had to overcome their ingrained repulsion against these "cannibals" in order to appreciate the missionaries' efforts to balance acknowledged Carib vices with their natural virtues.

A case in point was the response to the admirable histories of Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, celebrated by Gilbert Chinard as an expounder of the noble savage idea.[108] A reading of Du Tertre informed by the theological and intellectual assumptions of the seventeenth century leaves a different impression. Certainly in his section on the natural history of the islands, Du Tertre rhapsodizes about Caribs as "the most content, the happiest, the least vicious . . . the least artificial . . . of all the nations of this world. Because they are as nature has made them."[109] They possess the vigor and virtues of natural beings untainted by the artifices of civilized men. Classically-derived myths of the Golden Age quite apparently inspired Du Tertre's philosophical veneer. However, when discussing specifics of Island Carib culture the author employs the traditional device of balancing virtues with vices. He praises them most often when attacking European follies and vices. And the Dominican attributes many native vices to European influences, as when he says Caribs are malicious only when copying the French.[110] But even in this section Du Tertre condemns Carib polygyny, drunkenness, laziness, crude table manners, and cruelty toward slaves.[111]

In the historical sections of the work, Du Tertre offers a less favorable view of Island Carib culture. True, he often indicts the colonists as aggressors in the French-Carib wars, but he frequently blames the *sauvages* for what appear to more sympathetic modern readers as justified reprisals.[112] The Dominican often contradicts the too-often quoted "the most content" passage because he accepts the orthodox Christian view that natural man tends to evil. "These barbarians keep not their oaths" is one example of Du Tertre's many negative assessments.[113] When he as-


Payſage d'une partie de l'Iſle de S. Chriſtofle, auec un Crayon du Chaſteau de Mr le General.
Page 53
1. Le Chaſteau. 2. Le Jardin. 3. La Baſſe cour. 4. La Chapelle et les Offices. 5. Les Escuries. 6. La Tour des munitions. 7. La Ville d'Angole.

Governor Longvilliers de Poincy's famous estate at St. Christopher. From Charles de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles . . .* (Rotterdam, 1665).
Because Rochefort openly attempted to persuade his countrymen of the charms of St. Christopher, his accuracy in this drawing is problematical.

serts that Caribs "have no more reason than wild beasts,"[114] the author looks, not forward to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, but backward to the classical Christian view that reason must impose order on the natural passions of the human animal. The good father does not deny that his charges practice cannibalism, although the reader is assured that Europeans are no longer the victims. Generally avoiding sensationalism, the author does occasionally repeat hoary stories, such as the one about Carib consumption of their female slaves' children.[115] Notwithstanding their *natural* virtues, Caribs are, in Du Tertre's final analysis, to be pitied for their terrible religious superstitions. Readers should shed tears and then open their purses to assist the missionaries in converting these poor souls. He hopes that the "gentleness with which they [the French colonists] treat them . . . the good treatment and affable reception which our fathers accord them . . . will over time soften their barbarous temperament."[116] So many later readers have distorted Du Tertre's views because they failed to recognize the Dominican's contradictions between his theological and philosophical assumptions, and because they concentrated on the famous passages in the natural history section. It is my judgment contra Chinard that pious seventeenth-century readers would have closed Du Tertre's opus with the phrase *pauvres sauvages* on their pious lips.

Before the 1660s, books in French by secular authors, with one exception, depicted the traditionally negative perceptions of Island Caribs. Two rather popular works, the "universal history" of Joannes de Laet and Vincent Le Blanc's fabulous *Voyages* in the mode of John Mandeville, reprised the passages of Martire and Acosta about the utter brutality of cannibals.[117] A traveler to the French islands who left an account, Guillaume Coppier, dismisses Caribs as "misanthropes and man-eaters . . . who have absolutely no goodness," a judgment based on at most incidental contact with those condemned.[118]

The important exception to these all too typical descriptions is the book by the Protestant minister Charles de Rochefort. Without entering into the controversies concerning the authenticity of his work, suffice it to say that he blended "borrowings" from Dominicans Breton and Du Tertre with firsthand information from influential people at St. Christopher. Poincy and others there were anxious to have the Antilles, most especially their island, depicted as attractive places for emigrants and investors.[119] Jesuits had lauded Martinique and Dominicans Guadeloupe, and Du Tertre's 1654 volume had depicted St. Christopher as the least-appointed French island. Rochefort strongly condemns what he obviously assumed to be popular metropolitan impressions of the islands as a last resort for declassé Europeans living among irredeemable cannibals. In truth, contends the author, respectable French settlers live in amity with Caribs, whose vices are in large measure due to the pernicious influence of the Spanish and En-

glish.[120] In some passages, the author blames the devil for Indian vices, or he puts them in relative perspective by cataloguing more opprobrious customs in other parts of the world.[121] In their natural state, Caribs are "civil, courteous, reasonable, docile, honest, amicable, and generous." As with Léry and Du Tertre, Rochefort often praises native virtues when indicting European practices.[122] He insists that Caribs had abandoned, even laughed at some of their more despicable former practices, especially the consumption of Europeans.[123] Yet, despite these humanizing descriptions, Rochefort for the most part does blame Island Caribs for early warfare with French colonists.[124] All things considered, Rochefort's popular and well-written book probably effected some modification of the traditional images of Carib cannibalism. However, after an English translation of the *Histoire* appeared in 1666, its impact would be even greater.

The bitter French–Island Carib conflict of 1654–59 tempered the more benign interpretation of aboriginal culture promoted by Du Tertre and Rochefort. Although published in 1658, Rochefort's manuscript was written largely from a pre-1654 perspective. Du Tertre published his first history in 1654; in his updated, greatly expanded histories of 1667 and 1671 the sympathetic passages on the Island Caribs remain, but he was then more frank about the limited evangelical success among these people and sober about the future because of the way Christians had treated them.[125] The Jesuit Pierre Pelleprat, writing after the slaying of his colleagues on St. Vincent, clearly believed that the future of his order was on the South American continent, where Amerindians purportedly practiced neither cannibalism nor torture.[126] These natives, he wrote, have so little "inclination toward vice" that "one would say . . . that they have not committed the original sin like other men."[127] In these nearly heretical assertions were implicit criticisms of Island Caribs, even though Pelleprat describes them as "docile and disposed to receive the Gospel."[128] Published in 1659, the book of the Dominican André Chevillard chiefly attempts to assign blame for his colleagues' lack of success among Island Caribs despite herculean efforts. Like Du Tertre, he blames apostolic failure on French colonists because of their ill treatment of the natives and on the governors for their hostility toward the Dominican mission at Dominica; but, unlike Du Tertre, he emphasizes the brutality of Carib culture.[129] Chevillard's work has more the air of an historical postmortem than a call for renewal of effort. It is clear that some missionaries, especially Jesuits and Dominicans, were losing their enthusiasm for evangelical work among Caribs.

English images of Caribs during this "Heroic Age" were not discernibly different from those of the precolonial period. With a few exceptions, English colonists did not write of their experiences. They came to the Caribbean to acquire riches and they lived harsh, short lives in that pursuit. Nor did English colonists apparently transport Island Caribs to London

for the freak shows so popular in Elizabethan times. Other than the negative experience of war, the settlers had few contacts with Caribs. After 1632, King Charles's subjects did not inhabit Carib islands as did the French. There appear to have been few English *coureurs des îles,* and there were *no* English missionaries. The Anglican church, perhaps because of the increasingly discordant struggle within its ranks, displayed no interest in converting "cannibals." The contrast with the powerful *dévot* party and with the evangelical impulse of Counter-Reformation Catholicism could not be sharper.

Works by Thomas Gage and Richard Ligon may be cited among the very few English authors of this period who had direct albeit brief contact with Island Caribs. But because their descriptions of these peoples did not contain the term *Carib,* their works probably had only slight impact on metropolitan opinion. Gage characterizes the naked, scarified aborigines of Dominica and Guadeloupe as "rude and savage" but cautiously willing to trade with the Spanish.[130] Ligon professes some admiration for the "natives'" natural intelligence and artisanal skills. He neither calls them cannibals nor remarks on their color, smell, or scarification.[131] These first descriptions, while brief, were indeed dim lights amidst the dark litanies of cosmographers and universal historians.[132]

Typical of this bleak and boring lot (and, incidentally, the most popular English sources on Amerindians in this period) were Peter Heylyn's *Microcosmus* (eight printings, 1627–39) and *Cosmographie* (five printings, 1652–74). The scant fifty pages devoted to America in the aptly titled first work barely distinguish one group of "savages" from another and dismiss them all as idolatrous and nomadic barbarians, thoroughly unpleasant fellows.[133] In the *Cosmographie,* unaltered throughout its too-long-published life, Heylyn characterizes Caribs as mean, lazy, "tricky," epicurean cannibals—in sum, the "common enemies of mankind." He repeats Martire's stories, adding that Caribs had lost their appetite for Europeans (Herrera's influence).[134] Given this meager menu of information available to the literate public, it is not surprising to find John Davies complaining in the introduction to his translation of Rochefort (1666) that he had to search out returned English colonists to acquire information about the Antilles. Some forty years of colonial life in the Caribbean had no visible impact on traditional English images of Caribs.

THE EXPERIENCES OF this "Heroic Age" of colonization established more or less permanent patterns of ethnic behavior in the Lesser Antilles. Badly defeated by the French militia and largely relegated to the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, most Caribs sought security and goods by making accords with their most powerful European neighbor, most often the French. (Caribs usually tolerated *coureurs* and missionaries as middlemen

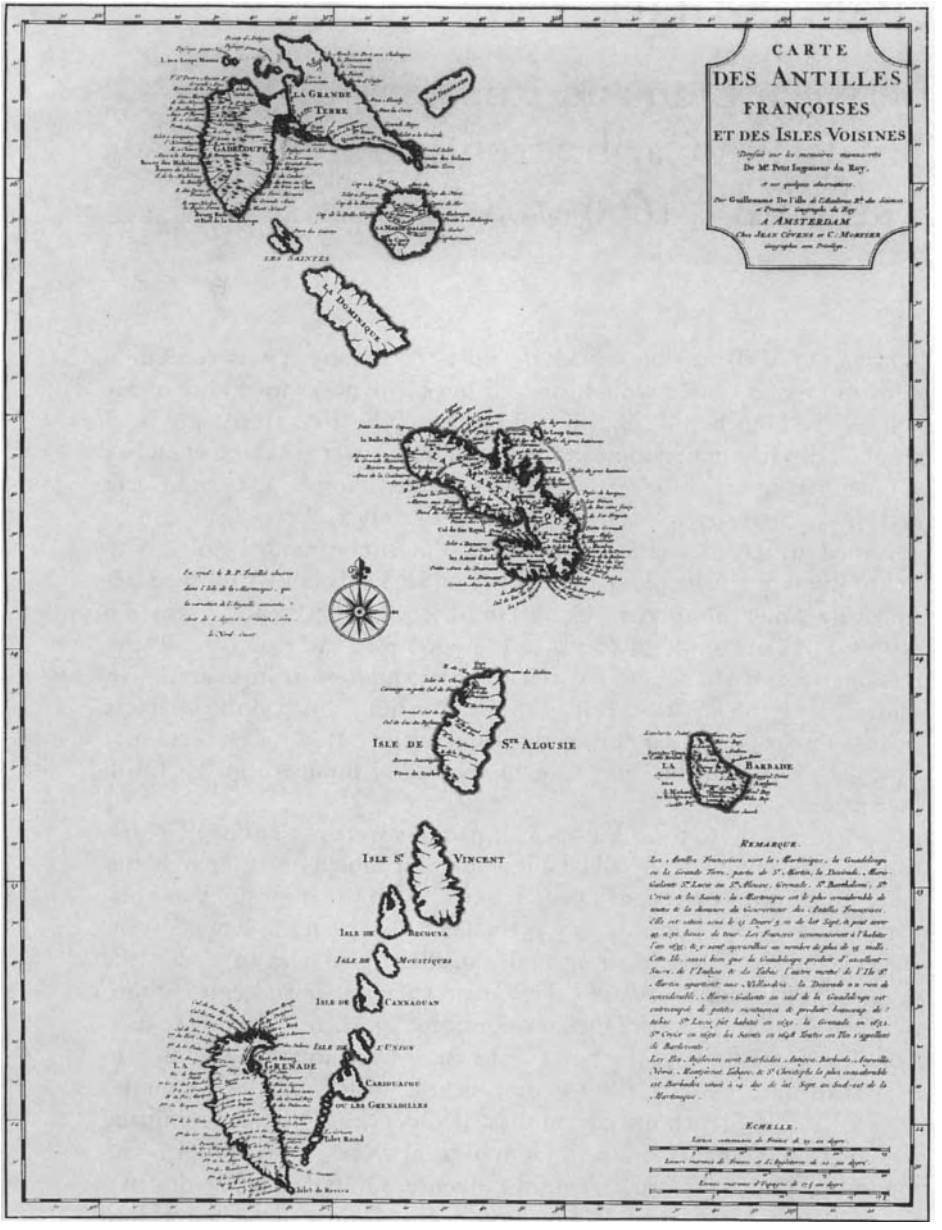
in this French connection.) Yet, despite their seemingly permanent animosity toward the English, Caribs were quick to make peace when on rare occasions English forces landed near their *carbets.* After 1660, perhaps *because* of their frightening bouts of guerrilla warfare with the brave "cannibals," the French sought peaceable relations by sponsoring missionaries and by sending annual "gifts." Conversely, because English colonists had no means of altering the state of continuous warfare, they had to be constantly watchful. Thus, they failed to construct any kind of relationship with the Caribs—diplomatic, political, economic, or religious—and this is amply reflected in their literature. Lacking a Du Tertre, a Rochefort, or even a Chevillard, English writers and readers had available only traditional stereotypes of cosmographers. The poverty of English-Indian policy and the bleakness of literary impressions of Carib culture were undoubtedly connected.

CHAPTER THREE

Between Lion and Rooster: The Island Carib Struggle for Autonomy, 1660–1688

IN THE BEST of all possible worlds the post-1660 relations between Europeans and Island Caribs would have left but blank pages for future historians. If the French and English had respected the 1660 treaty and if all Island Caribs had understood and accepted its terms, then there wouldn't be much left to say. Neither condition prevailed, however. Island Carib reaction to the treaty is uncertain, but lack of universal consensus can be presumed. In 1664, some aborigines of St. Vincent responded violently to an ambitious English colonial enterprise at St. Lucia, an island then occupied by small numbers of Caribs and French. The French pursued a more subtle "invasion" of Carib and "unoccupied" islands, sponsoring missionaries and encouraging woodcutters and hunters *(coureurs des îles)* to reside among the *sauvages*. Both European nations dreaded the strategic consequences of the other dominating these islands. Both sides, therefore, deployed every possible ruse to gain spheres of influence in the Carib reservations.

Carib responses to these European intrusions were not uniform. Those from St. Vincent normally allied with either the Dutch or the French, but under duress they even concluded "treaties" with the English. Their primary interest was to prevent any permanent European settlements at St. Vincent and St. Lucia; their second, corollary goal was to obtain the weapons and goods that would allow them to maintain strategic autonomy, even if at the expense of their economic independence. Owing to their geopolitical position, Vincentian Caribs considered adjacent St. Lucia to be vital to their security. On the other hand, most Caribs of Dominica accepted a mild French tutelage in these decades, but without permitting permanent settlements. Even in Dominica, however, a pro-English faction under "Indian" Warner vied for influence. Only the foolish destruction of Warner's men by an Antiguan posse in 1675 pushed the natives into the French sphere of influence. Still, in 1688, both St. Vincent and Dominica aborigines retained formal control of their islands, and prevented European occupation of strategic St. Lucia.



Map of the French Antilles by Guillaume de l'Isle (Amsterdam, c. 1725). *This map makes obvious the strategic importance of Dominica, St. Lucia (Ste Alousie), and St. Vincent to both the French and the English. Note that if the French could dominate these islands, they could isolate Barbados from the English Leewards.*

EURO-CARIB RELATIONS during this era occurred within a different context. Emerging from decades of political and social turmoil, France and England gradually established more centralized administrations. This impulse reached out across the Atlantic where their colonies had become economic adjuncts of the dynamic Dutch commercial network. Reining in the colonies was a slow process, in part because of astounding metropolitan ignorance of overseas conditions.[1] Still, between 1660 and 1688, Paris and London gradually became major players in Antillean affairs.[2]

England's Charles II and James II did not in the end attain the degree of metropolitan control of colonies that France's Louis XIV achieved. First, Charles and most of his advisors viewed colonies primarily as sources of patronage and revenues: in short, as milch cows. When the king and his new governor of Barbados, Francis, Lord Willoughby, succeeded in extracting the famous 4 1/2 percent duty on island sugar, the royal half went for purposes wholly unrelated to colonial defense and administration.[3] Outraged planters and other island taxpayers had to rely on their own resources when confronted with powerful Dutch and French fleets. Only in one year during this era did English naval vessels protect the colonies, and frigates were made available only sporadically to defend against corsairs or Carib descents on vulnerable windward coasts. Owing to the Stuarts' priorities, colonial officials rarely received their pay and inevitably came to depend on colonial assemblies for gratuities. Finally but hardly least important in restraining royal dictature in colonial affairs was the role of Parliament. Merchants, planters, and colonial officials who in France influenced policy only through persuasion of the minister were able to lobby Parliament to promote their interests.

Administrative procedures for metropolitan control of colonial affairs improved significantly during this period. From 1670 on, various committees (Council on Plantations [1670–72], Council on Trade and Plantations [1672–75], and the Lords of Trade [1675]) met more or less at regular intervals to handle colonial correspondence and to advise the Privy Council on important issues.[4] But the king, who combined caution with lassitude, only infrequently used these instruments to assert royal control. He and his younger brother James, Duke of York, did occasionally assert the royal prerogative to such an extent that one historian can talk about the "end of American independence" in 1676.[5] Soon, however, other problems such as the Exclusion Controversy (1678–81) understandably diverted Stuart attention from America. It wasn't until James II ascended the throne in 1685 that there was another significant push to centralize colonial governance.

The relations between the Stuart administration and the English Lesser Antilles reflected the inconsistency of royal centralization of colonial administration. In 1663, Charles II appointed Lord Willoughby as governor-

general of the islands, despite much opposition from rival claimants. It was a fortuitous choice. Embroiled in constant conflict with planters over revenues and without military support from home, Willoughby defended the royal and gubernatorial prerogatives with fierce determination. Upon his accidental death in 1666, Willoughby's younger brother William received the position and continued his brother's strong policies. However, in 1671, after receiving constant complaints from Leeward planters and from interested London merchants about Barbados's purported hostility toward these islands, the new Council on Plantations recommended a separate government for the Leeward islands of St. Christopher, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat. It is instructive that this decentralization of English colonial authority occurred shortly after Louis XIV and Colbert had reunited all authority in the French Antilles under a governor-general. Lack of cooperation, bickering, and worse (not least on questions of policy toward Island Caribs) characterized relations between the Barbadian and Leeward governors. That Charles acquiesced in the decision to divide island governance demonstrates the limits of Stuart imperial centralization.

The king and colonial committees generally promoted conciliatory policies toward Island Caribs. True, Francis, Lord Willoughby's instructions contained admonitions "to treat with the natives, especially of St. Vincent and Dominica, or if injurious or contumacious, to persecute them with fire and sword."[6] However, by 1670, at the request of the Privy Council, the new Council on Plantations directed all colonial governors to prevent settler provocations against the Indians and to punish severely the perpetrators. Because these Indians could provide valuable services to the colonists as guides and trade mediators, they were to be treated with kindness and justice. Young colonials, the instructions continued, were to be sent among them to learn their languages and customs. These royal instructions were repeated to the newly formed Council on Trade and Plantations in 1672. The Council was to apprise the governors of "the necessity of maintaining peace with their neighbors, the Indians and others, of taking Indians under their protection and of guarding their persons, goods and possessions according to law."[7] These idealistic Stuart sentiments would be severely tested in 1675–76 by Amerindian hostility toward English rule in New England (King Philip's War), Virginia (Bacon's Rebellion), and in the Leewards, as shall be shown below.

The evolution of French colonial administration roughly paralleled that of England. A period of confusion and uncertainty in the 1660s came to an end in 1669 with Jean-Baptiste Colbert's appointment as first Secretary of State for the Marine.[8] But if the lines of authority had become clearer and more rational in France, several factors hindered Colbert's efforts to control overseas affairs. Perhaps foremost was Louis XIV's barely concealed

indifference to overseas questions.[9] His drive for military glory *(gloire)* in the Dutch War (1672–78) severely crippled the minister's colonial program by stripping it of resources and, as importantly, drawing Colbert's attention away from it. In addition, the minister discovered that the best potential recruits for overseas assignments abhorred the thought of these "wildernesses," and even if they consented they often acted there as if the king owed them a living.[10] Colbert often found it necessary to conceal his rage concerning their graft and their inadequate fulfillment of his instructions. Historians have exaggerated both the speed and thoroughness of the establishment of administrative centralization vis-à-vis the French colonies in this era.[11]

In the Antilles after 1667, a governor-general received authority over each of the particular island governors and was the supreme military commander. Then, after the failure of the West India Company (W.I.C.) and the establishment of direct royal rule in 1674, an intendant-general administered financial and *police* affairs. This dual system of authority worked better in France. On the colonial frontier, conditions required strong governors of a military background who overshadowed civilian intendants. Sovereign councils, which had highest local judicial authority, advised the governor-general, intendant-general, particular governors, and intendants. Paris did not permit popular "English-style" assemblies in the colonies, although in turn French planters did not directly bear the costs of colonial administration. In the broadest sense, this governance structure responded to commands from Paris; however, the thousands of miles separating France and the Antilles allowed local officials ample room for deciding different degrees of implementation.

Colbert was a hard, cold, calculating man—the "wind from the north" —who was never noted for humanitarian sentimentality. Thus, if this administrator par excellence favored a policy of *douceur* toward Amerindians, then he must have calculated the benefits that would accrue to France or, more truthfully, to the state from such a policy. *Douceur* in this context meant the dominance of neighboring Amerindians by cheap, peaceful methods. In the case of the islands, Colbert urged his officials to establish a protectorate over Dominica. Caribs there, he said, should be persuaded to accept a house of Dominican missionaries and then, "on the pretext of assuring the safety of these priests . . . we could build a fort that would render us masters."[12] But the *sauvages* were not to be disturbed, and the French were not to construct plantations. With some exceptions, Colbert consistently followed a policy of avoiding warfare with the Island Caribs. This caution probably resulted from his earlier experiences with Guianan ventures doomed by Amerindian hostility,[13] and he was certainly aware of the detrimental impact of the Carib wars of the 1650s and Iroquois campaigns against New France. Good relations with Amerindians

were for Colbert fundamental to colonial development. The contemporary books of Le Febvre de La Barre and Father Du Tertre, both of whom were close to the minister, strongly echoed these sentiments.[14] Although force could not always be avoided, as in the case of the Iroquois, friendship with the aborigines often paid high dividends in terms of security, commerce, and exploration. Needless to say, peace was far cheaper for the home government than war, and this factor became the critical one with the outbreak of the Dutch War in 1672. *Tant mieux* if these friendly Indians might also be employed as auxiliaries in times of conflict with other Europeans.

From both London and Paris, therefore, the message to the islands was to keep peace with the Caribs. By the end of the 1660s both governments seemed to possess the power and administrative means to enforce these instructions. Yet, as the balance of this chapter will demonstrate, English colonists of the Leewards and their magistrates often violated the spirit and sometimes the letter of these orders, and they did so with impunity. The French islanders and their governors, although often clamoring for punitive expeditions against Caribs and sometimes advocating annexation of the reservation islands, grudgingly accepted the royal veto of their more belligerent designs.

TO TAKE A closer look at these times, it is useful to divide the period between 1660 and 1688 into three parts: 1663–71, 1672–78, and 1678–88. The first division covers the years of the two Willoughbys' governor-generalship. The authoritarian Francis, Lord Willoughby, pursued an aggressive but subtle policy toward the Island Caribs. He might have succeeded in detaching many of them from loyalty to France if war (1666–67) and his accidental death therein had not intervened. After the war, William, Lord Willoughby, continued his older brother's policies with much success. In 1671, however, the Leewards were removed from his government and he died two years later. French policy in these years was a reactive one to the Willoughbys' attempts to dominate the Carib islands. Although some colonists and the first governor-general, Jean Charles De Baas (1667–77), proposed plans to annex Dominica, Colbert vetoed these in favor of his policy of *douceur* and indirect dominance. With the help of the missionaries and the *coureurs* (and with the aid of fortune), the French managed to stymie the designs of the Willoughbys.

Aggressive initiatives of English island authorities between 1663 and 1665 ruptured the Euro-Carib peace and dragged most aborigines into informal alliances with the French. Francis, Lord Willoughby, the new governor-general of Barbados and the other English islands, faced a difficult situation as overcrowding drove Barbadian planters to seek land in Jamaica and Carolina. To retain these colonists under his authority,

Willoughby cast his eyes on adjacent St. Lucia, inhabited only by a small Carib population and a handful of Frenchmen.[15] His attitude toward the French was openly confrontational: "The dispute will be whether the King of England or of France shall be the monarch of the West Indies, for the King of Spain cannot hold it long."[16] As for the Caribs, did not his instructions, cited above, allow him to treat their opposition to just designs by "fire and sword?" His share of the 4 1/2 percent duty on sugar gave Willoughby the financial independence to pursue his agenda.

As will be recalled, Du Parquet had bought St. Lucia from the Company of the Islands in 1648. He and his successors maintained a fortified outpost there, in spite of English contentions that it was "uninhabited save only by cannibals or Indians."[17] In 1663 rumors of Willoughby's intentions evoked a protest from the Martiniquan Council.[18] However, the political turmoil prevalent there since Du Parquet's death prevented a stronger response.[19]

Barbadian loggers and fishermen had for decades worked at St. Lucia with comparatively few incidents. But Willoughby's more ambitious plans for the island meant a temporary abandonment of Barbados's traditional peace policy toward Caribs. Using "Indian" Warner as intermediary, Willoughby "bought" the island from some Carib chiefs, including the powerful Baba and Nicholas of St. Vincent, for the usual trade goods and spirits.[20] In 1664, some one thousand Barbadians under a Colonel Caron accompanied by six hundred Caribs led by "Indian" Warner evicted the French without a blow.[21] Willoughby's coup inaugurated a new era of English-French and Euro-Carib relations.

In an astonishing maneuver two months prior to this invasion, Willoughby had appointed Thomas "Indian" Warner deputy-governor of Dominica.[22] This bastard son of Sir Thomas Warner was a fascinating if enigmatic character. Unsparingly persecuted by Warner's widow after the governor's death in 1647, "Indian" Warner fled to basseterre Dominica (the leeward side), home of his mother. Contemporary chroniclers described him as intelligent and fiercely proud to the point of defiance. He refused to live as a Christian, but in conversations with Europeans scorned those Dominican Caribs whom he tried to subject to his will. Not only did his features, including an aquiline nose, tend toward the European, but he cut his hair, a distinctly non-Carib practice.

Not much is known about "Indian" Warner's activities between his arrival at Dominica around 1647 and 1663. Du Tertre blamed him for turning basseterre Caribs from the French camp toward reconciliation with the English.[23] But the same author also implicated Warner in the massacre at Marie Galante in 1653, which Du Tertre in an earlier volume had blamed on capesterre (the windward side) Caribs.[24] As noted in the previous chapter, Warner led a Carib delegation to Antigua in 1660 to make peace.[25] In about 1663, Willoughby sent Warner on a visit to London

to learn how to live as a Christian (without success, according to Du Tertre).[26] Willoughby apparently had hoped that the appointment of this intriguing figure would divide the Dominica Caribs into two factions. Upon Warner's control of basseterre Dominica, Willoughby intended to establish a garrison that would threaten Martinique and Guadeloupe.[27]

Willoughby had not counted upon the appearance of a French fleet in 1664 bringing the new lieutenant-general for America to the islands. Alexander Prouville de Tracy, one of the greatest French proconsuls, had received instructions to live in peace with the English, but he immediately agreed with Martiniquans about the seriousness of Willoughby's moves. The Englishman had already accomplished what Colbert had instructed Tracy to consider—extending European influence over the "unoccupied" and Carib islands.[28] Tracy moved quickly and decisively. To guarantee interethnic peace at Martinique, he enjoined the colonists to treat fairly any remaining Caribs.[29] As a counter to Warner's English commission, Tracy arranged to have capesterre Caribs of Dominica place themselves formally under French protection.[30] Angrily reacting to the St. Lucia capitulation, he incarcerated the former commander of the French fort there[31] and sent a strong protest to Willoughby which pretended that Colonel Caron had acted without the former's permission.[32]

The unfolding debacle of the English at St. Lucia in 1665 as a result of famine, pestilence, and growing Carib hostility presented Tracy with new opportunities. He promoted the idea of garrisoning Dominica "in case of rupture with another crown," according to Governor Du Lion of Guadeloupe.[33] Leader of a seriously underpopulated island that had long suffered from Carib depredations, Du Lion warned Colbert that Tracy's plan was fomenting Indian anger and not only from Dominica Caribs.[34] Nor were W.I.C. officials pleased with such a venture because of the cost.[35]

Willoughby did not allow discouraging news from St. Lucia to halt his ambitious projects. He dispatched two Englishmen to Dominica to help "Indian" Warner persuade Caribs there to resist Tracy's design and to offer English assistance.[36] At the same time, French sources charge, Willoughby armed three ships for an attack on St. Vincent.[37] A curious letter to Father Simon at Dominica contains some startling information about this episode. Writing from St. Vincent, the author La Borde states that Warner had turned Vincentian Caribs *against* the English settlement at St. Lucia by telling them that Willoughby planned to capture and enslave them next. If La Borde's assertions are accurate, then what game was "Indian" Warner playing? Did he hope to prevent English expansion in the area of their greatest strength while using English assistance to firm up his own position at Dominica, an island adjacent to the French strongholds of Martinique and Guadeloupe? Such a speculative interpretation would have Warner attempting to maintain the balance of power to prevent European

expansion. La Borde further informed Father Simon that, according to Warner, Willoughby had no intention of invading Dominica. The writer also explains why Caribs had turned against the English colony at St. Lucia. Four or five Caribs including the "chief" Oualimont (Olimont in other accounts) had been invited aboard an English ship. Bloody mayhem occurred after the usual drinking bout when the chief suspected a trap. A wounded Oualimont escaped and proceeded to St. Vincent to animate his comrades against the "perfidious" English. Finally, La Borde informed his correspondent that he was working diligently to promote peace between St. Vincent Caribs and the Dutch so that the former could concentrate their wrath on the English.[38]

In a document of late 1665 or early 1666, French and English island authorities put forward propositions to lessen tensions. Signed by Willoughby, Governor Robert de Clodoré of Martinique, and Chambré of the W.I.C., these proposals included the following: "That the treaty [1660] . . . concerning the Caribs will continue in force in Dominica so as not to take it over without the other's consent."[39] Although the outcome of these exchanges is not recorded, they suggest that the English and French had checked each other's designs on Dominica; or, from another perspective, that Island Caribs had acted to balance the European powers in order to prevent annexation. As a well-informed correspondent of Clodoré put it: "It is believed that the Caribs, who fear us much more than they do the English, and who want neither of us, will use the English to stymy us if we have plans . . . against them." He concluded that increased French influence at Dominica could be acquired only in concordance with the principal chiefs there.[40] In fact, within six months from the date of this letter (August 11, 1665), war between England and France would push most Island Caribs into the latter's camp.

The brief Anglo-French detente in the islands fell victim to events in Europe. Louis XIV reluctantly agreed in 1666 to join his unloved ally, the Dutch, in war against England. Whereas French island officials received instructions to maintain a defensive posture, Willoughby prepared for an attack.[41] French colonists now benefitted from the former proprietors' emphasis on armed preparedness and from their long struggle with the Island Caribs. Under energetic governors like De Sales of St. Christopher and especially Clodoré of Martinique, they scored a stunning succession of victories over English planters, who exhibited scant military skills or ardor. The English government, too complacent because of the Barbadians' ability to beat off De Ruyter's strong fleet in 1664, responded rapidly to the devastating news from the Caribbean. The arrival of Sir John Harmand's powerful squadron in 1667 permitted the recovery of all English islands except St. Christopher.[42] The Treaty of Breda in 1667 restored England's half of that island.

This brief conflict should probably be viewed as an exceptional event in an era of relative peace (1632–89) rather than as prelude to a second hundred years war (1689–1815). In the postwar years Charles II made peace with Spain (Treaty of Madrid, 1670) and drew closer to France with the secret Treaty of Dover. Although proud of the islanders' courage (which was surprising because of the already ingrained prejudice that only riffraff would leave la belle France), the French court pursued peace in the Caribbean because it had no resources for war. Even with the triumph of Lord Danby and the francophobes in England in 1675, increasing tensions did not lead to war. With the Peace of Nijmegen in 1678, some island officials pushed hard for a treaty of neutrality that would allow the colonists peace even when war broke out in Europe. Versailles and Whitehall eventually signed on, and the short-lived Treaty of Neutrality came into effect in 1686. But even after so many years the rhetoric of good feeling could not cloak the bitterness engendered by the bloodshed of 1666 and 1667 or, on the English side, the hatred aroused by French use of Carib "cannibals" against fellow Christians.

The war of 1666 had a dramatic impact on the Island Carib strategy of playing off the Europeans. Full-scale war pushed most Caribs into French arms. This development must undoubtedly be viewed in the context of issues discussed in the previous chapter (i.e., the generally positive impact of the French missionaries and the *coureurs des îles;* the far greater ability of the French militia to instill fear and respect among Caribs; and success of island officials in limiting unjust treatment of these aborigines). But the immediate cause of the French-Carib alliance was no doubt Willoughby's aggressive policies at St. Lucia, which turned Vincentian Caribs against the English. After the English capture of Baba at St. Vincent in 1666, five hundred bowmen went to aid the French.[43]

The situation at Dominica at the war's beginning is far from clear. It will be recalled that "Indian" Warner returned there in 1665 to excite fellow Caribs against the French by revealing Tracy's plans to garrison the island. According to Du Lion, Warner arrived with five vessels and proceeded from *carbet* to *carbet,* burning those of his opponents.[44] Informed of Warner's activities by the missionaries, French authorities moved effectively. Du Lion promised aid to the pro-French faction, although he had to refuse requests for direct intervention because of the W.I.C.'s opposition. Clodoré explained his reaction to Warner's offensive thus: "I have strongly caressed our Caribs who are very affectionate toward us . . . I hope to use this sympathy to construct a fort at Dominica with their consent."[45] After nine pirogues of Dominican and Vincentian Caribs stopped at Guadeloupe on their way to raiding Antigua, five retraced their steps and caught Warner unprepared at his *carbet.* Du Lion undoubtedly inspired this shift in plans. Warner and his desperately-pressed followers took refuge in a pass-

ing English ship. Notified of these events, French officials hastily dispatched a warship in pursuit and with great fortune captured "Indian" Warner.[46] Overruled by the lieutenant-general Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre in his desire to dispatch Warner to the king's galleys, Du Lion kept the prisoner under the strictest surveillance. Willoughby's Carib policy had suffered a stunning setback.

French policy toward the Caribs was now to yield large dividends. Warriors from St. Vincent and Dominica pledged to attack the English Leewards if Frenchmen would join them. Upon their arrival at Martinique, the war parties were wined and dined by Clodoré, chief exponent of their usage in the war. Forty-five to fifty Martiniquans who *"knew their language and their customs"* [my italics] volunteered to lead the assault.[47] At the next stop, Guadeloupe, a near disaster occurred. While the *sauvages* were enjoying lavish entertainment, an English ship dropped anchor in order to discuss an exchange of prisoners. "Ignorant of such worthy customs as peace talks," the Caribs reacted furiously to French officials' protection of the common enemy.[48] Already feeling betrayed, the warriors left Guadeloupe even more incensed when a shaken Du Lion abruptly refused to allow the Martiniquans to accompany "these animals." Then, when their war party was detected before landfall at Antigua and the raid turned into a fiasco, Carib rage reached the boiling point. Only a liberal distribution of presents and much brandy allowed their patron-friend *(compère)* Clodoré to appease their outrage. Du Lion's sudden pangs of conscience nearly aborted a principal French advantage in this war.

By the fall of 1666 conditions were ripe for a great French offensive. A hurricane destroyed the island fleet scraped together by Willoughby, and the intrepid governor drowned. The French governors under the overall commander Le Febvre de La Barre attacked Antigua and then Montserrat. The Antiguan militia, whose leaders were deputy-governor Samuel Winthrop of the famous East Anglian and Massachusetts family and Philip Warner, son of Sir Thomas and his third wife Anne, put up scant resistance. However, some time after the capitulation, the Antiguans under a new deputy-governor refused to continue observing the treaty stipulations because the French purportedly "sent the Caribs against us despite the treaty's obligations." Winthrop complained bitterly of Carib "murders and rapes . . . committed upon the inhabitants after the French departed, having, as they said, liberty to do so for five days."[49] No determination about the truth of this accusation is now possible, although in general English islanders vastly overestimated French control over their Carib allies. Clodoré once again landed and defeated the Antiguans, who now not only saw their goods pillaged but who were allowed to retain only one hundred muskets to defend against Carib raids. These events, as Winthrop testified, long poisoned French-Antiguan relations.[50]

The French assault on the tiny island of Montserrat benefited more directly from Carib assistance. A combined French-Carib force plundered the island's interior after landing on the undefended windward coast, while the French fleet bombarded the leeward forts. The English colonists, who feared Caribs "like the devil," quickly surrendered after the capture of eighty prisoners. This time Le Febvre de La Barre was able to prevent further Carib depredations against what was now an almost exclusively Irish remnant very content to take an oath to Louis XIV.[51] So ended a very bad year for England, one of plague, fire, and losses to the Dutch, French, and Caribs.

The year 1667 saw a decline in Louis's enthusiasm for the Caribbean conflict and a simultaneous Stuart drive to reverse English losses. The days of the French-Carib offensive were over when a powerful English fleet sailed into the Antilles. After defeating the French off threatened Nevis, Sir Henry Willoughby, nephew of Francis, reported that this victory was a godsend because not only had the French armed Irishmen and African slaves but "the cannibal Indians plied off and on in their boats to the windward of the island as if hovering over their prey."[52] What a ghoulish gallery of horrors for a seventeenth-century English colonist—negroes, Irishmen, and cannibals brought together by the traditional enemy. This was hardly cricket. Later in 1667 an even more powerful fleet under Sir John Harmand defeated French ships off Martinique before proceeding to Guiana to capture Cayenne. Although the English part of St. Christopher remained in French hands, England's position in the Caribbean at the end of the war was strong.

William, Lord Willoughby, brother of the deceased, became the new governor-general with instructions to subdue Caribs "either by force, or Treaty."[53] If they resisted, these infidels should be chastened by "fire and sword." With the war's conclusion, Harmand's fleet and Sir Tobias Bridges's regiment put Willoughby in a position to dictate terms to the French and Island Caribs. First, in a vigorous exchange with Le Febvre de La Barre, Willoughby insisted that "Indian" Warner, as son of Sir Thomas, was an English subject with a valid commission as deputy governor of Dominica.[54] The new governor furthermore asserted that Dominica unquestionably belonged to Charles II. The Frenchman denied this contention by referring to the 1660 treaty.[55] He resisted giving up Warner until he received a promise from Willoughby's negotiator, Colonel William Stapleton, that the prisoner would henceforth live in a Christian community. Le Febvre de La Barre should not have been greatly surprised when Willoughby soon transported Warner back to Dominica with a new commission as deputy-governor in order to entice as many Caribs as possible to an English alliance.[56] Willoughby informed the king that the French had been unable to corrupt Warner.[57]

Willoughby moved against intransigeant Island Caribs in 1668. He vowed to protect his islanders "from the attacks of the Indians who yet are the French stalking horse."[58] With residual naval forces and Bridges's troopers he first terrorized Vincentian Caribs, "who are apt to side with the strongest," and forced them to sign a treaty of submission to English authority. Under duress, these Caribs agreed to return English captives and stolen slaves.[59] However, when Willoughby's forces proceeded to Dominica, the alerted inhabitants resisted more effectively. In his report to the Privy Council, Willoughby implicitly recognized some of the reasons for the French successes with the "savages."

> I must always keep English among them to put them upon some war like designs against some nations on the main, the better to divert them from acting any mischiefe against the English colonies, for by their vicinity to the French islands, the French are frequently among them. . . . I must furnish them with some toys and strong liquors for a while for which . . . I must put H.M. to some expense.[60]

Only force, he concluded, could guarantee their good behavior. Unfortunately for Willoughby he did not for long dispose of forces adequate to keep the Caribs in submission.

Despite Willoughby's efforts to remove the Island Carib threat and to pressure French officials concerning evacuation of the English half of St. Christopher, the Leeward islanders mounted a persistent campaign to obtain their own governor. Immediately after the war a Leewards' petition to London claimed that Francis, Lord Willoughby had neglected them. Without soldiers, they asserted, "the Indians will perpetually annoy and destroy them, as they have done formerly."[61] These islanders argued, not without some reason, that Barbados did everything possible to stifle their development.[62] No success at Whitehall was forthcoming until 1671 when Sir Charles Wheler received a commission as governor of the Leeward Islands.[63] The indomitable and hot-tempered Colonel William Stapleton, an Irish soldier of fortune and tough-minded former deputy governor of Montserrat, soon replaced the incompetent Wheler. A prisoner of war of the French during the recent conflict, Stapleton mirrored the Willoughbys' francophobia. He reputedly knew how to handle Irish miscreants, runaway slaves, and Caribs.[64]

After the Treaty of Breda the official French policy toward England was peace. Governor-General De Baas received orders to obey the letter and the spirit of the treaty.[65] Louis XIV promoted an English entente in anticipation of hostilities with his erstwhile ally, the Dutch.[66] These changes soon reverberated in island diplomacy. When a quarrel erupted between

the Dutch and Vincentian Caribs, De Baas refused Dutch requests for help or even to mediate the conflict.[67] Thus did island officials repay debts long owed to the saviors of early French colonists! Louis and Colbert heartily approved this conduct and even advised that sub rosa aid be extended to Caribs, not excluding guns.[68] De Baas soon promised arms and food to warriors who would attack St. Eustatius, a Dutch entrepôt.[69]

De Baas's instructions relative to the Carib islands are of great interest. At the minimum he was to prevent English occupation and resist their efforts to carve out a sphere of influence. On the other hand, Colbert in 1670 inquired about the possibility of annexing them for strategic reasons.[70] De Baas enthusiastically responded that forty rich families from Martinique and many St. Christopher French were eager to relocate to Dominica. He claimed that there would be no Carib resistance "because they are our friends and many wish that the French would install themselves."[71] The governor-general expressed anxiety that English domination of Dominica would irreparably compromise the French colonies' geopolitical position. To criticism that French occupation of Dominica would pose legal problems because of the 1660 treaty, De Baas cynically pointed to the fact that the king had not signed that treaty. In any case, the *sauvages* themselves had continually broken the accord by their theft of African slaves.[72] Although insisting that there would be only minimal resistance, De Baas wrote that two hundred soldiers would be necessary to pacify Dominica because some seven or eight hundred warriors would not easily accept French hegemony.[73] The French must intimidate these bowmen but not push them to war, for that would subvert the colonization process. Presents and "good treatment," De Baas concluded, would gradually reduce hostile Caribs to submission.[74]

Colbert also received information in 1670 about Dominica from the island governors. Du Lion at Guadeloupe praised the Dominican Father Beaumont for his work at Dominica because "in instructing them in our faith, he is holding these people in our interests, who have much regard for him." The governor added that "Indian" Warner was having little success in gaining Carib affection for England.[75] Marie Galante's governor wrote that he had sent ships to Dominica searching for sulphur mines and had found some deposits as well as iron ore.[76] But Colbert's chief interest in these years was the development of Grenada, an island assumed to be most appropriate either to launch an attack on the Spanish empire or as an entrepôt for its economic penetration. Time and again the minister returned to his pet project, one that would have inevitably caused ruptures with neighboring Vincentian Caribs.[77] Fortunately for its relations with Island Caribs, France lacked funds and ships to implement the wish list of the minister and his governor-general.[78]

THE YEARS 1672–78 were watershed ones for Euro-Carib relations. Within a context of changing European alliances, England appeared poised to dominate the Carib islands. Due to Louis's concentration of resources on the land war against the Dutch, England's great competitor and until 1674 ally, France, was weak in the Caribbean during these years. However, not only did England not solve the Carib "problem," but her position seriously deteriorated.

The background to these developments was the 1671 split in island government and, in 1673, the death of William, Lord Willoughby. His replacement as governor of Barbados and (in theory) the Windward Islands (St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica) had far less influence among Island Caribs, and especially with the deputy governor of Dominica and protégé of the Willoughbys, Thomas "Indian" Warner. The renewal of Carib raids on Antigua and other of the Leewards after 1672 provoked the Antiguan militia, with the blessing of the Leewards governor, to exact terrible revenge against Dominica Caribs. Most prominent among the militia's victims was "Indian" Warner and his followers, in principle the chief buttress of English influence there. This Antiguan massacre severely curtailed English influence among Island Caribs, especially when its perpetrators were found not guilty at their Barbadian trial. Having stood by helplessly during these dramatic events, French islanders emerged as the chief beneficiaries. More than ever before, Island Caribs looked to the French for protection after the "Indian" Warner affair.

At the start of the Dutch War in 1672, Louis XIV admonished island officials to foster cooperation with his new allies, the English.[79] The English Leewards now received warnings about impending Carib raids.[80] This French posture was in large part a consequence of weakness. Concentrating resources and energy in the European theater, Paris ordered De Baas to remain on the defensive against the Dutch.[81] In contrast, William, Lord Willoughby, took the offensive, seizing Dutch St. Eustatius and threatening Tobago and Surinam.

The thorny issue of Dominica created some tension between the allies. During Willoughby's absence on campaign, Deputy Governor Christopher Codrington convened the Council of Barbados to solicit its advice about whether he should occupy Dominica "before any other nation should possess the same."[82] This request, so odd given the Barbadian policy of avoiding trouble with Caribs, was the consequence of reports about an important silver mine at Dominica. Codrington had received this interesting information from "Indian" Warner, whom Codrington specifically described as the son of Sir Thomas and a man "very faithful" to England.[83] Codrington then sent four men who spoke Carib to negotiate the sale of Dominica, and he subsequently dispatched samples of the ore to

London.[84] De Baas promptly evicted the Englishmen from Dominica[85] and wrote to Codrington that the Barbadians had broken the treaty of 1660. Claiming never to have heard of such a treaty, Codrington referred the matter to London for adjudication. The Council on Trade and Plantations concurred with Codrington, adding that nothing had been said about this treaty at Breda.[86] While in England, Willoughby had received word of these proceedings. Upon his return Willoughby quarreled with Codrington and dismissed him.[87] Alarmed by these English maneuvers, French island officials reacted by proposing to annex Dominica and by giving secret aid to capesterre Caribs.[88] With Willoughby's death in 1673 and with presumably discouraging reports about the ore, English ardor for Dominica cooled.

Codrington's stratagems may have provoked the revival of Carib raids against Antigua in 1672. Although the Antiguan Assembly voted to make war on them, the Leewards' governor William Stapleton expressed concern to the Council on Trade and Plantations that such a course would jeopardize English efforts to locate the reported silver mine.[89] Late in the same year, 1672, the governor appealed to the Privy Council to request French approval for a joint "destruction of the Cannibal Indians," or at least to obtain Versailles' consent to an English campaign. "It will be a mighty encouragement to our settlers for they dread them heathenish villains more than a Christian enemy."[90] In 1673, Stapleton begged the Council on Trade and Plantations to support the extermination of Island Caribs before a likely breach occurred with France.[91] The record indicates that the council formally resolved to approach the French on this matter but that the latter apparently had no interest in such a proposal.[92]

One can only speculate why "Indian" Warner promoted an apparently phantom silver mine to Codrington and the Barbadians. As indicated above, Du Lion had reported Warner's failure to alter Dominican Carib attitudes toward the English. Was the silver mine a ploy to elicit more active English support for his struggle with pro-French capesterre Caribs? If so, to whom did the approximately seven hundred bowmen described by De Baas as unwilling to accept French dominance owe allegiance? Were they Caribs who would follow Warner to war? Whatever the case, after Willoughby's death in 1673, the Council on Trade and Plantations advised the Privy Council to renew the commission of Warner, who was described as being "somewhat related to the late . . . Thomas Warner."[93] Warner's instructions were to protect His Majesty's rights in the island, to stop any injuries contemplated by Caribs, to prevent a break in relations between the French and the English, to return runaway slaves, and to keep the Council on Trade and Plantations apprised of island conditions and of his supply needs.[94] So as late as the summer of 1673 "Indian" Warner was in London's good graces. Indeed, Willoughby's temporary successor at Bar-

bados, Sir Peter Colleton, informed Whitehall that Warner's commission was the best legitimization of H.M.'s claim to Dominica.[95]

Less than eighteen months later, "Indian" Warner was dead at the hands of the Antiguan militia. Although no tool of the English, Warner was England's best hope to neutralize France's influence among these aborigines. The Antiguans' response to Carib hostilities in this period presents instructive comparisons to French reactions to Indian provocations. Weak French responses ironically preserved their influence among Caribs, whereas the "eye for an eye" English approach earned the colonists everlasting hatred.

The French were the first to suffer what must be called abject humiliation at the hands of the Caribs. In June 1674, De Baas wrote to Colbert that the Jesuits wished to abandon their unproductive mission among Vincentian Caribs.[96] The ship that was dispatched to retrieve them somehow insulted some Caribs, who then promptly murdered the crew. Upon departing for the safety of the mainland, the perpetrators proceeded to Grenada and killed fourteen more French. These despicable acts were a declaration of war, an enraged De Baas wrote, but he acknowledged the difficulty of carrying through reprisals because of France's war against the Dutch and Spanish. The governor-general contacted Dominica Caribs to see if they were in league with their St. Vincent cousins. Responding negatively, the Dominicans offered to send a party to St. Vincent to locate the culprits. Seven pirogues led by seven "captains," *including "Indian" Warner,* left for St. Vincent.[97] De Baas expressed some optimism about this mission, but in his next letter admitted that because of their "bad faith" no positive results could be reported. "But with people without faith, and religion and who are more beasts than men," what should one expect? A furious De Baas begged Colbert for two hundred soldiers and adequate ships to exterminate these "beasts," or at least to consign them to the king's galleys. Dominica, he added, should be conquered at the same time. The English could say nothing about these actions because they were so obviously just.[98]

The minister's response included expressions of regret about the murders and he trusted that De Baas would somehow chastize the guilty parties. Nevertheless, present circumstances made impossible any assistance from Paris; therefore, the governor-general should avoid a complete rupture with the Caribs. Dissimulate your anger at these insults to French honor, counseled Colbert.[99] He reaffirmed the policy of avoiding hostilities with the English despite their recent rapprochement with the Dutch.[100] The hard-pressed De Baas had to swallow these Carib insults.[101]

Late in 1674 some Caribs of Dominica conducted a "bloody" raid on Antigua in which some English were killed and others kidnapped. Stapleton wrote the Council on Trade and Plantations that Antiguans must be

Map of St. Vincent. From Bryan Edwards, *History, civil and commercial, of the British colonies in the West Indies* (London, 1793).
St. Vincent was an important center of Island Carib (and, later, Black Carib) culture. Note the lands given to the Caribs (Black Caribs) after the inconclusive 1773 war with Britain.

"revenged on these heathen for their bloody and perfidious villainies." In a matter-of-fact manner he reported that he had already dispatched six companies under Philip Warner, deputy governor of Antigua, for that purpose. The Warner expedition had destroyed eighty or so Caribs and had damaged their provision grounds.

> His pretended brother Indian Warner reputed natural son of Sir Thomas fell amongst his fellow heathens, who though he had an English commission yet was a great villain and took a French commission, which makes me suspect that these Indians have been putt on by those who made use of them in the late war contrarie to the principles of Christianitie.

Now was the time to complete the annihilation of these savages, explained the Leewards governor, for the English were at peace with the Dutch, Spanish, and French. The king had only to send him a few frigates for the purpose. Thus, with this artfully contrived letter London was first informed of what was to become something of a cause célèbre, the Warner affair. This Antiguan action crushed any English aspirations for improved relations with Island Caribs.[102]

Appointed in 1672 by Wheler to the highest office in Antigua, deputy governor, Philip Warner was the son of Sir Thomas and his third and still-living wife Anne. He was therefore the half-brother of Thomas "Indian" Warner, although Philip and his defenders at the forthcoming trial were heatedly to deny this kinship. In his trial testimony, Philip Warner claimed to have assisted "Indian" Warner when the latter was a family slave. During the 1666–67 war, Colonel Philip Warner was one of those to sign the initial capitulation to the French, but he retrieved his honor by escaping from the island upon Clodoré's second invasion, rather than submitting again. Warner subsequently participated in the successful English invasion of Cayenne. Given his official position at Antigua and his military experience, Colonel Warner was a natural selection to lead a punitive expedition against Dominica.

Warner's actions became an extraordinary affair because of the new governor of Barbados and the Windwards, Johnathan Atkins. Atkins was appalled that "without taking any notice of me," he said, such an enterprise had been undertaken against an island under his titular authority. He asserted that the resulting acts of the "greatest inhumanity" had lost forever the friendship of Island Caribs. Atkins called the "assassination" of "Indian" Warner a disaster because he was "the only person in all of these parts that asserted the English interest."[103] Equally important was the account of the deposition of ship captain William Hamlin, Philip Warner's chief accuser. For twenty-three years the commander of the sloop *Betty* of

Antigua, Hamlin recounted that he had transported Colonel Warner and his three hundred men to Dominica, arriving Christmas Day, 1674. "Indian" Warner and some thirty followers joined the English for an assault on pro-French capesterre Caribs. Four of the latter perished in battle, then thirty more were massacred after being attracted on board the *Betty* during a truce. "Indian" Warner and sixty to seventy of his followers went on deck for a victory celebration. There, after much drinking, they were brutally murdered. When the young son of "Indian" Warner begged to join his father, Colonel Warner commanded it. In an aside, Hamlin noted that Philip Warner had issued a direct command to Samuel Winthrop to kill "Indian" Warner, but Winthrop refused to do so.[104] Hamlin's account was so detailed and specific that it should not have been difficult to corroborate or discredit.

Perhaps Atkins was quick to forward his accusations to the Council on Trade and Plantations because at the time of the massacre but prior to news of it at London Charles II had rebuked him because eleven mainland Caribs had been brought to Barbados as slaves. The king ordered their immediate return, "considering of how great importance it is to the good of our affairs in those parts, that a fair correspondence should be preserved between the Caribbee Indians, and that provocations should be avoided." The king specifically noted the benefits accruing to the French due to their close ties with Caribs, and admonished Atkins to take all necessary measures "to gain . . . the affection of these peoples."[105] Given these sentiments, London's furious reaction to Atkins's account is not surprising. Charles II ordered the arrest of an astonished Philip Warner, who happened to be in England on business. The royal order referred to

> that barbarous murder or massacre, committed by Col. P. Warner and his confederates upon Thomas Warner and his company with which H.M. is highly offended and commands that a speedy and exemplary justice should be done upon the persons guilty of this inhuman act. . . . And since there is reason to believe that the Windward Indians may have been much alienated from the English by this action, H.M. leaves it to the Governor [Atkins] to give that people some signal and public demonstration of his justice upon the authors by sending them some heads.[106]

By sending them some heads! The government had obviously learned a lesson from the previous war, that Caribs had been an important factor in French victories. Now some half-cocked colonials had torpedoed Whitehall's efforts to maintain peace with these natives.

Stapleton in the Leewards and Warner in the Tower disputed almost every aspect of the Atkins-Hamlin accusation. They attempted to link

"Indian" Warner to the 1674 attacks on Antigua that provoked the colonists' outraged response. A certain Jones wrote to the Council on Trade and Plantations that a French acquaintance at St. Christopher informed him of Carib plans for Antigua and that he even saw them preparing their poisoned arrows. These Indians were, according to the source, of Warner's faction. Jones added that "the rogue who doth all of this is one that hath been formerly a slave upon Antigua . . . and will never give over until he has them in keeping that kept him."[107] In his deposition, Colonel Warner accused "Indian" Warner of having English goods in his *carbet*,[108] although he says nothing to substantiate another deposition's charge that goods from Philip Warner's own boiling house were among "Indian" Warner's confiscated possessions.[109] Because of Philip Warner's arrest in England there had been no opportunity to coordinate the defense's responses.

On the issue of "Indian" Warner's complicity in the Antiguan and earlier raids, it is relevant to examine the commission of the Council of Antigua, which authorized war on Dominica Caribs. This commission was issued some three months after Colonel Warner's expedition but before Antiguans became aware of the outraged royal reaction. According to this document, Colonel Warner's party first asked "Indian" Warner why "he suffered such inroads [the 1674 raid] to be made against us?" Although he replied evasively, "yet such was our confidence in that Indian Warner that our forces were ordered to take his advice." He purportedly then warned capesterre Caribs of English intentions toward them. Bad feelings between the English and Warner's Indians resulted in outright warfare, during which the Antiguans defeated "Indian" Warner and his warriors in a fair fight. The document concludes by asserting "Indian" Warner's involvement in Carib raids on Antigua in 1672 and 1674.[110] If so, why did the Antiguans have such confidence in "Indian" Warner?

As mentioned earlier, Philip Warner and his defenders claimed that "Indian" Warner was not the son of Sir Thomas but his slave. Colonel Warner, Stapleton, and several aged witnesses emphatically denied any kinship link.[111] What this evidence primarily demonstrates is Leeward solidarity in support of the defendant, because such claims had not previously been made—at least not in a public forum. "Indian" Warner's commission explicitly referred to him as Thomas's son, and the French chronicles provide significant and unanimous corroboration.[112] From the defense's perspective, if he were not an Englishman "Indian" Warner's death could be of no great consequence. When petitioning (unsuccessfully) for bail, Philip Warner stated that "killing an Indian heathen though in the manner as the accusation runs is not so great a crime as killing His Majesty's subjects."[113] Also, Warner's defenders must have believed that the denial of "Indian" Warner's paternity might remove some of the sting of having killed a royal official.

Philip Warner's partisans all accused "Indian" Warner of alerting capesterre Caribs to the Antiguans' plans. This may be the most convincing part of their attempted exculpation of the deputy governor. If it may be assumed that the Antiguans did not land at Dominica with the intention of slaughtering "Indian" Warner's faction, then their accusation of "Indian" Warner's betrayal of trust provides a motive for the massacre. Philip Warner asserted that the "battle" between his forces and "Indian" Warner's occurred fourteen days after the English arrival, enough time for a futile joint campaign against the capesterre Indians. The purported betrayal of "Indian" Warner seems compatible with his past actions. True, he fought against capesterre Caribs for supremacy and accepted English provisions to do so, but he apparently wished most of all to prevent European dominance of Carib homelands. In the case of Dominica, this usually meant support of the English interest in face of the far stronger French presence. However, it will be remembered that, according to a French source, he had turned Vincentian Caribs against Francis Lord Willoughby's designs for St. Lucia and ultimately St. Vincent. At the time the English were a far more powerful force in that area than the French. Another piece of evidence pointing to Warner's autonomous stance, once against noted previously, concerns his journey with other Dominica "chiefs" to St. Vincent on behalf of De Baas. The ultimate failure of the mission is not important. But that this English deputy governor of Dominica would consent to adjudicate for the French is convincing evidence of his independence. At the beginning of 1675, "Indian" Warner perhaps worried that if the Antiguans smashed the pro-French Caribs he would become at best a puppet ruler of the island. An alternative hypothesis is that the Antiguans, frustrated by their inability to come to blows with an elusive enemy, turned on their "allies," who were in any case strongly suspected of complicity in previous raids against Antigua.

Philip Warner himself presented the strongest critique of Hamlin's deposition and the state's indictment based on it.[114] He claimed that Hamlin bore him malice because as deputy governor he had punished the ship captain for illicit trading practices. Colonel Warner challenged every aspect of this "profligate seaman's" deposition: Hamlin was not aboard ship but on shore at the time of the supposed crime; "Indian" Warner's son was not dead but living in a merchant's house in Lisbon; "Indian" Warner was no friend of the English because he had slain an earlier governor of Antigua, Captain Cardine, as well as other Christians. The defendant ridiculed Hamlin for such assertions that "Indian" Warner and thirty of his confederates manned eight pirogues, when it took at least thirty men to handle one of these enormous dugout canoes. Warner also presented a historical framework to enable an outsider to understand the events under question, one that focused on the repeated, damaging Carib raids on Antigua. In this

context, Warner argued, war with these barbarians permitted the employment of all "stratagems."[115]

After the shock of arrest, Colonel Warner soon improved his situation by befriending important personnages in high London circles. He much impressed London officials with his detailed accounts of the history and present conditions of the Leewards.[116] The historian familiar with the lack of either published or manuscript materials in English on these islands can certainly understand their interest. Relatives such as his mother, Anne Warner, friends, and interested London merchants orchestrated an intense campaign in his favor.[117] The merchants argued exactly the reverse of the crown's position. They contended that condemning Warner would simply encourage Carib "butcheries" and further demoralize English colonists. Warner should receive a pardon. If he could not be pardoned he should be tried in London or in one of the Leewards, but not at Barbados, whose governor had initiated these proceedings.[118] Warner himself evinced such distrust of a Barbados trial that despite the royal wrath he preferred a London venue.[119] If there were no alternative to Barbados, he petitioned that an equal number of judges and jurymen come from the Leewards.[120]

Meanwhile, Governor Stapleton busily gathered a barrage of petitions on Warner's behalf, which arrived in England on the eve of the latter's departure for trial at Barbados. In these documents new crimes were imputed to the long dead "Indian" Warner.[121] One Philip Meagher claimed that "Indian" Warner had told him that Stapleton would have hanged him long ago were it not for Philip Warner's intercession.[122] In another document, Stapleton testified that officers who had participated in the action at Dominica swore that "Indian" Warner had been slain in battle, not massacred aboard ship.[123] The petition of the Council of Nevis informed the king that the annihilation of these Indians would do "more for the preservation of H.M.'s interests and the quiet of our minds . . . more than any other service imaginable."[124] A remonstrance of Antiguan planters asserted that "Indian" Warner had been the Carib leader during the 1666 ravaging of their island, and furthermore, that he personally had killed Captain Cardine, removed and barbecued his hand, and kidnapped his family who then perished in captivity. To cloud the issue of "Indian" Warner's royal commission, this document said that he bragged about his French commission. Near the conclusion of this interesting remonstrance is indirect confirmation that the action against the Dominican Caribs was not entirely honorable, as Colonel Warner had himself acknowledged. "It is evident had not Col. Warner's party been quick in giving the first blow upon these our bloody enemies, he and those with him had received the same measure."[125] Convincing or not, Stapleton's documents stacked up in opposition to the testimony of one witness. The Leeward islanders had rallied behind the deputy governor of Antigua.

Although Warner received a Barbadian venue, Governor Atkins had only the right to certify that the judicial commission acted according to its instructions.[126] While the colonel's request for Leeward Island judges was honored, his request for Island jurors was not.[127] The defendant appeared less than humbled, at least in his correspondence with Atkins. His action at Dominica, Warner wrote, "is really a good service to the king . . . and chiefly Antigua who . . . were forced to make the island a garrison instead of a plantation." In any case, he was simply following Stapleton's orders.[128] During the trial Warner followed this line of defense while attacking Hamlin's deposition.[129] Hamlin was unable to defend or elaborate upon his assertions because he was in ship irons on his way to Holland. Stapleton had asked Dutch authorities at Curaçao to extradite him for stealing slaves from Antigua, but since his request, so the Leewards governor reported, Hamlin had committed further "felonious acts" at Curaçao.[130] How utterly convenient for the defense! Upon Warner's inevitable acquittal, Atkins sourly reported to London that the jurors would have been condemning themselves had they voted guilty and added that the Leeward gentry would not sleep well, "for the Indians never forget nor forgive injuries."[131] The Barbados governor complained in another letter that the French had already greatly profited from this affair by sending two hundred men to Dominica and building a fort.[132]

The triumphant Colonel Warner wrote to the Lords of Trade (which replaced the Council on Trade and Plantations in 1675) that despite an intensive search for evidence against him, none had been forthcoming.[133] However, an irked Charles II, in general infuriated at colonials for undertaking their own solutions to the Indian "problem" (Warner's raid, Bacon's rebellion, King Philip's War), ordered Stapleton to prevent Warner from holding any island office dependent on the king.[134] In a rude riposte, the Antiguan Assembly soon elected Warner as its speaker. The colonel flooded London with petitions, so much so that Secretary of State Henry Coventry complained to Atkins that Warner should be more than satisfied with his acquittal. He said, "His Majesty was too mindful of what had been proved and acknowledged by Col. Warner himself when here."[135] It would be of more than mild interest to know more about this cryptic reference. Continued efforts by Warner to clear his name eventually succeeded when the king ordered that his property be restored in 1679. The dead Caribs obviously had no constituency at court. Philip Warner died a prosperous and respected gentleman at Antigua in 1689.

The Warner affair illustrates some differences between the English and French approaches to the Carib issue. First, it is not easy to imagine that even a De Baas, headstrong as he was, would risk as did Stapleton such a "cowboy" action so directly counter to royal instructions. Stapleton's letter of February 8, 1675 (old style), announced almost casually that he

sent a revenge party against Dominica, an island not under his jurisdiction, and that its royally-appointed English deputy governor had been slain. De Baas was by no means averse to hostilities toward heathens, whom he considered not much better than beasts (in this he resembled Stapleton), but he never undertook such important actions without explicit royal approval and support. The more decentralized character of English colonial government shaped the unfolding of these events. Not only was Stapleton independent of Atkins at Barbados, but he claimed the right to chastize offending Caribs on islands not under his authority. As far as the record indicates, Stapleton did not receive official or even unofficial criticism of his conduct. Warner stood trial not for his seemingly illegal raid on Dominica but for his murder of the king's official and friends there. Finally, personalities explain much about these different approaches. No French island governor would have dared risk the wrath of De Baas and Colbert with an unauthorized attack on the Caribs. Would Stapleton have dared such an action if instead of the anemic Atkins a Willoughby had occupied the governor's chair in Barbados?

Despite significant documentation, the Warner affair leaves the historian with more questions than answers. Was the raid a cover for an occupation of Dominica, site of the much ballyhooed silver mine? Or, more probably, was the bloodletting simply an expression of Antiguan frustration about the seemingly interminable Carib assaults? Did "Indian" Warner in fact participate in the attacks on Antigua between 1672 and 1674? If so, why didn't Philip Warner join in that accusation? How could Antiguans be sure the Carib raiders owed allegiance to "Indian" Warner? What did the colonists know, in any case, about Carib hierarchical structures or the lack of them? Did "Indian" Warner tell the capesterre Caribs of the Antiguans' hostile intentions toward them? What happened to William Hamlin? to "Indian" Warner's son? Did London make any inquiries in Holland and Portugal to investigate Warner's and Stapleton's claims about the fate of these two victims of the affair?

The consequences of this cause célèbre are clear. By killing "Indian" Warner and his confederates, the Leeward planters destroyed the Dominican faction that at least officially supported their interests and claims. After 1675, pro-French *carbets* dominated Dominica and, if French sources are to be believed, Carib hatred of everything English reached a crescendo.[136] But also note that the English action quite literally decimated the Dominican bowmen. If the total Indian population can be estimated at some three thousand, surely there were not much more than eight hundred warriors. According to Hamlin, the Antiguans killed over one hundred, thus relieving the threat to the Leewards. In summary, the English forfeited any hope that the Carib threat could be neutralized diplomatically, but that threat was never again as potent as it had been between 1666 and 1674.

It is unfortunate and somewhat puzzling that the French archives contain very little about the Warner affair. One learns only from English sources that De Baas sent a ship to inquire of Philip Warner's purpose at Dominica,[137] or that in the aftermath the French dispatched two hundred men to build a fort there. Part of the problem was that official correspondence during these war years was very sporadic. Yet, some letters from De Baas and the governors of particular islands are extant. Did a chance sinking or capture of a French ship expunge from history island officials' reaction to events on Dominica? Alternatively, was De Baas silent out of fear that Colbert might criticize his lack of action against Warner's flagrant breach of the 1660 treaty, now so cherished at Paris? Such a conjecture seems unconvincing, for had not Colbert strongly warned island officials to avoid friction with the English at practically any cost?

The few official letters of these years do indicate that, although the French may have been unexpected beneficiaries of the events at Dominica, they experienced growing troubles from the encroachments of St. Vincent Caribs against the struggling French colony at Grenada. In 1675 De Baas reported a Carib raid there, adding that such assaults paralyzed the settlers with fright.[138] What made matters infinitely more dangerous was that the Dutch had returned to Tobago (as a result of the second treaty of Westminster, 1674, between the English and the Dutch), made peace with the Caribs, and were now provisioning these *sauvages* for attacks on Grenada.[139] The Dutch could play this game, too. De Baas responded as best as he could under difficult circumstances by sending three companies and one ship to reenforce Grenada until the promised relief squadron under Marshall d'Estrées arrived.[140] Later documents suggest that Carib raids had a devastating impact on Colbert's pet colony, and only d'Estrées' arrival curtailed them.[141] This Grenada settlement, a nightmare to St. Vincent Caribs because of its strategic potential to impede their free passage to the main, would long poison Carib-French relations in the southern half of the Windwards.

THE DECADE SEPARATING the conclusion of the Dutch War (Treaty of Nijmegen, 1678) and the outbreak of the War of the League of Augsburg (1689) was one of peace—or, rather, absence of war—in the islands. Neither Whitehall nor Versailles attached a high priority to maintaining military forces in the Lesser Antilles, and war, or the threat of war, had exhausted both island officials and settlers. Island Caribs, however, did not partake of this mood. Those of Dominica continued to strike at the English Leewards, and they caused problems for French authorities with increasing activity in the illicit slave trade. Vincentian Caribs, at peace with the English until 1686, repeatedly annoyed the French at Grenada, who imperiled the Indians' security. The responses to these Carib "provoca-

tions" were varied. French island officials blustered about extermination campaigns, but lack of metropolitan support forced them to resolve the problems through diplomacy. This peace policy ultimately returned dividends to the French. On the other hand, the English Leewards, without means of communication with the Dominica Caribs, resorted to force, which only resulted in further French gains amongst these aborigines. After 1685, gunboat diplomacy from Barbados was equally ineffective in neutralizing the Carib threat or in attaching them to the English sphere.

It was Colonel Stapleton, that previously inveterate Francophobe, who proposed a treaty of neutrality in 1678 with the new French governor-general, the Comte de Blénac (De Baas died in 1677).[142] Stapleton's hard analysis of English military weakness in the Caribbean explains his peace overtures. The few regulars in the islands had terrible morale problems due to negligence of royal authorities, and Stapleton's own credit had reached exhaustion.[143] But French islanders were not in much better condition, because in 1677 d'Estrées had stripped the colonies of men and materials for his spectacularly failed assault on Curaçao.[144] The proposed treaty of neutrality included an article that neither side would incite Island Caribs against the other. While London accepted the treaty, Colbert balked because he wanted to include all of the Caribbean possessions, including Jamaica and St. Domingue. In 1679 the French broke off negotiations, although the proposal ultimately reemerged as the core of the later, more general Treaty of Neutrality of 1686.[145] In the islands, however, officials found it convenient to follow the spirit of the unratified accord, and some eight years of peace and reasonably good relations ensued.

Within this context of peace, both sides attempted in different ways to resolve conflicts with Island Caribs. Blénac took advantage of d'Estrées's fleet to force peace on two powerful Vincentian chiefs, Pierre Moignac and Ionana. They agreed not to inhabit Grenada or even go there without permission of the colony's governor. They pledged, also, to fight for the French in all future wars. Finally, the chiefs promised to inform Caribs on Trinidad and on the mainland of this agreement and to try to gain their assent.[146]

This peace initially breathed life into the struggling Grenada settlement, but soon Blénac was complaining to Colbert of Carib breaches of the pact. The governor-general shared De Baas's tough approach, and, like his predecessor, despised these "*barbares.*" The minister applauded the treaty and agreed that Blénac should use force to punish its violators. However, the aging and wise Colbert cautioned the governor-general to prevent settler mistreatment of Caribs.[147]

Blénac also had problems with Dominica Caribs in 1679. He informed them that he would forthwith hang fifteen of their countrymen held prisoner if they did not immediately return runaway African slaves, as well as

those acquired illegally at Martinique from freedmen.[148] These and other problems with Caribs led to a convening of an assembly at Martinique to discuss a "just war" against this "perfidious nation." What choice did it have, the assembly asked rhetorically,

> than that of applying the extreme remedy and destroy them because what *douceur* with which we have treated them for forty years, having sent them missionaries for religious purposes, the massacres that they commit the first chance that they have even including priests at the altar.[149]

This passage referred to the murder of a Capuchin at Dominica. When Caribs made unsatisfactory responses to his demands, Blénac sought permission for a campaign of extermination.[150] His appeal to Colbert for support included details about numbers of men and types of ships necessary for a successful campaign.[151] In further letters, the governor-general and Intendant Jean-Baptiste Patoulet pressed Paris to obtain consent for their master plan against the Caribs.[152] Patoulet made it clear that the capture and enslavement of St. Vincent's numerous Black Caribs would be a major by-product of the planned action.[153] Louis XIV flatly refused to approve the scheme. Blénac and Patoulet were "to contain these peoples and prevent them from creating any obstacles to commerce and to the security of my subjects, without going to war against them." Because there could be no support from France, the officials were to engage Caribs in friendship.[154] This pacific approach apparently succeeded, for Patoulet soon reported that "the Caribs were well disposed to discuss peace."[155] Once again, lack of approval from the court due to financial considerations reined in aggressive island projects.

Documentation is sparse for the English Caribbean between 1678 and 1681. Instructions to the new governor of the Windwards, Sir Richard Dutton, do not even mention Caribs. He received orders to discourage the grant of new lands because of the surfeit of sugar. Such surpluses relieved pressure to secure new acreage, reducing annexationist pressures vis-à-vis St. Lucia and St. Vincent.[156] A rare report from the Leewards complained about the lack of regular naval patrols to protect these islands from Carib raids. Although better off than before, this report stated, colonists still expressed dismay about the need to mount constant guard against Indian incursions.[157] Dutton's first report in 1681 referred to continuing French hostility to English ships and woodcutters at Carib islands. He informed the Lords of Trade that Caribs "with French amongst them as wild and savage as themselves" were assaulting the Courlanders who had planted at Tobago under English auspices.[158]

London heard from Stapleton in 1681 that Caribs had again struck the

Leewards. The killing of three English boys at Barbuda led Stapleton once again to propose the annihilation of Caribs, "whilst we are in amity with the french who has them in subjection."[159] Perhaps in the belief that the Warner affair had ended any chance for friendship with Caribs, Charles II now agreed to give Stapleton full powers to wage war against them and he ordered Windwards governor Dutton to cooperate fully.[160] Previously, Dutton had refused Stapleton's pleas to allow him to launch strikes against Carib islands.[161] Dutton informed the Lords that the Barbadians, "being in amity with the Indians and needing their friendship when they go to cut wood" and "it being also impossible wholly to destroy them since they are continuously recruited from the mainland," balked at helping Stapleton.[162] What made matters more infuriating for Stapleton was that the Nevis Assembly, asserting that Caribs had not bothered the island for twenty years, refused in 1682 to authorize the arming of two sloops as its share in the projected assault force.[163] Threats had to be employed to overcome the assembly's recalcitrance. Despite all of these difficulties, Stapleton informed London that he was "going to hunt Indians judging it better to prevent their design by an aggression than be in perpetual fear of a skulking enemy which comes in the night . . . like a thief."[164] A recent Carib incursion against Montserrat only increased his determination. Stapleton once against blamed the French for these raids because they supplied arms to Caribs and bought the stolen goods and slaves.[165] There is, however, no evidence that French officials directly or indirectly provoked these raids. On the contrary. In 1683 an ordinance strictly prohibited French planters from purchasing slaves from Caribs.[166] No doubt this measure aimed primarily to protect the slave trade monopoly of the Company of Senegal, but it also reflected the official good neighbor policy of the French in the 1680s. How vigorously it was enforced is not known.

Stapleton's "Indian hunt" was rather disappointing because shortages of provisions and torrential rains made him unwilling to risk being "affronted by the skulking savage Indians who might take advantage of our powder being wet."[167] He claimed nevertheless that including the leaders of the raids on Barbuda and Montserrat eleven Caribs were slain, whereas French Intendant Michel Bégon reported four Carib mortalities.[168] Stapleton wrote of destroying forty-six pirogues, burning three hundred dwellings, and spoiling many gardens.[169] Bégon said that only a few abandoned pirogues, *carbets,* and gardens were ruined.[170] Stapleton sought to blame his very modest achievements on the pernicious French, but he apparently did not send to London the supposedly incriminating evidence of French complicity found at Dominica.[171] What perfect ammunition, if any in fact existed, to supply the home government in its diplomatic relations with Versailles.

Through the middle 1680s the French maintained peaceful relations

with Caribs.[172] Blénac reassured the king in 1685 that the *sauvages* would not molest the Grenada settlement, although some other observers were not so sanguine.[173] The governor-general and the new intendant, Du Maitz de Goimpy, requested royal patronage of Father Philippe, a secular priest at Dominica, because he was useful "in retaining the respect and submission of these savages."[174] These officials even proposed to use the priest to organize Caribs into militia companies, four at Dominica and ten at St. Vincent.[175] Missionaries should also be supported at St. Vincent, they argued, despite lack of evangelical progress there.[176] In response, the king strongly backed the continuance of a Jesuit post at St. Vincent and tentatively accepted the militia proposal, provided that the aborigines accept French officers.[177] Louis XIV and the marquis de Seignelay, who had replaced his father Colbert as minister of the marine in 1683, and perhaps even Blénac must have been pleased with the policy of *douceur* toward Caribs necessitated by Versailles's unwillingness to finance costly punitive expeditions. Dominica, though not St. Vincent, had become a virtual protectorate of France.[178]

In 1685, the year of his departure from office, Stapleton approached Blénac with the old idea of promoting a treaty of neutrality. The Leewards governor diligently pressed for negotiations in London upon his return, and soon the powers signed the Treaty of Neutrality in February, 1686. Article Ten stated: "The island of Dominica . . . will continue to be inhabited by the savages to whom it has been left, so that neither of the two nations may place her under possession." Here was implicit English acknowledgment of the terms of the treaty of 1660, which London formally refused to recognize. The Treaty of Neutrality continued: "That the subjects of neither nation receive . . . slaves or goods that the savages stole from the subjects of the other nation, nor give them aid or protection during their thieving raids."[179] Here was a classic quid pro quo; in exchange for allaying French security concerns about Dominica, the English obtained assurances that the French would cease to encourage Caribs as "middlemen" in the interisland illicit slave trade.

Ironically, this Treaty of Neutrality marked the end of relatively peaceful Anglo-French relations in the Caribbean. Oddly enough, it was Barbados and its new temporary governor, Edwyn Stede (the corrupt Dutton having been recalled), who initiated fresh altercations with the French. Stede took literally James II's orders to assert English interests at St. Vincent, Dominica, and St. Lucia, all three at the time being more or less in the French sphere.[180] At St. Lucia, some sixty to eighty French loggers resided on a semipermanent basis,[181] and there were many French *coureurs* at the Carib reserve islands. Stede sent the gunboat *Marie Rose* under Captain Temple to evict these intruders and to obtain treaties of friendship with Caribs.[182] In his account of Temple's cruise, Stede reported that the *Marie*

Rose met strong resistance at St. Vincent and fought some forty French and Caribs at St. Lucia.[183] English troopers burnt the loggers' cabins at St. Lucia and warned them not to return.[184] French island officials immediately made clear to Versailles the gravity of these English "pretensions."[185] Blénac expressed somewhat less concern because he believed that offended Caribs would prevent any English occupation, and he intended to provision them for this purpose.[186] An annoyed Louis XIV sent a warship to counter the *Marie Rose,* but he also attempted to defuse the crisis via direct talks with London.[187] Both sides proceeded to equip their negotiators with abundant documentation asserting their rights to the disputed islands. Although this documentation is useful for historical purposes, it would be tedious to follow at length its propositions and counterpropositions.[188] Suffice it to say that diplomacy solved little (except that the powers did not go to war over this episode) and the conferences failed to prevent further maneuvers and incidents in the Antilles.

By the end of 1687 both sides bristled in anticipation of defending their "rights" to Carib and "unoccupied" islands. In general, the English refused to relinquish their absurd claims under Carlyle's hoary patent. London would not for this reason recognize the legitimacy, even the existence, of the 1660 treaty. On the other hand, the French repeatedly violated the spirit and stretched the letter of that treaty. Missionaries among Caribs received funds less for evangelical reasons than for those of realpolitik. Officials encouraged *coureurs* to live among Caribs as a means of dominance. English accusations that the French fostered Carib raids by purchasing stolen goods and slaves contained a large measure of truth. In this atmosphere of fear and distrust, both sides strove to gain the upper hand. In the instructions to Stapleton's successor, Sir Nathaniel Johnson, the Lords of Trade approved a plan to attack Island Caribs as well "as any as shall mix with them in their defense without distinctions."[189] The Lords reminded Johnson that according to the Treaty of Neutrality the French could not furnish arms to the Indians.[190]

In the islands, Stede sent Captain Georges Brache on the *Marie Rose* to persuade the Dominica Caribs to sign a treaty of submission to James II.[191] Brache told French woodcutters there that they were trespassing on English territory.[192] In bellicose letters to London, Stede maintained his thesis that French *coureurs* were provocateurs who prevented an Anglo-Carib entente. The French reaction was swift. Island officials insisted that Brache's activities constituted a breach of the 1660 treaty.[193] More effectively, Blénac sent the emissary Du Hamel to rally as many Dominica Caribs as possible.[194] Assisted by ample portions of brandy, the envoy obtained a Carib promise to leave the French loggers and hunters in peace.[195] Louis once again brought the issue to the bargaining table because of his high hopes for friendship with James II. The delegations trod

over now familiar ground without apparent breakthroughs.[196] However, both monarchs emerged from the affair determined to tighten the reins on their too-tempestuous island officials. Louis insisted that Blénac obey strictly the Treaty of Neutrality and that licenses to corsairs be withdrawn.[197] He did continue to insist on France's right to sponsor missionaries at the Carib isles "to maintain the affection of the savages."[198] When Du Maitz de Goimpy apologized for the heavy expenses of the Jesuits at St. Vincent—"but to have the ability to insinuate themselves among the savages they have not been able to dispense with certain liberalities"—someone at the ministry commented in the margin that the missions made the Caribs "enemies of the English."[199] For his part, James II cautioned Stede about overaggressiveness, although francophobia continued to characterize the governor's correspondence.[200] Whatever James's peaceable intentions, in 1688 there were two English raids on St. Vincent, one of which burned the Jesuit chapel and led to the death of one priest and the forced return to Martinique of another.[201] Thus, on the eve of the Glorious Revolution and the subsequent outbreak of war, only the official stances of London and Paris kept the lid on the boiling pot of Anglo-French relations in the Caribbean.

BY 1688, the French had achieved a significant measure of dominance over the Island Caribs, especially those of Dominica. Lack of metropolitan support for colonial aggression against these aborigines left in place Colbert's post-1670 policy of *douceur*. Contrary to contemporaries' cherished conviction that such weakness would only provoke Carib contempt, this policy prevented cycles of violent conflict. The Island Caribs, in nearly constant conflict with various groups of English colonists from 1665 to 1688, sought French (or Dutch) aid in the form of weaponry and goods. Promoting the French-Carib accord were the previously developed influences of the *coureurs* and the missionaries, a fact amply realized in the islands and at Versailles. Lacking similar sources of communication, the English possessed few means to alleviate conflict and prevent hostilities from developing into violent uprisings.

How could the Antiguans really know whether "Indian" Warner's faction was responsible for the raids of 1672 and 1674? What if the Frenchman who told them so was an *agent provocateur* attempting to turn the English against the Carib deputy governor? Tormented by decades of effective Carib incursions that badly hampered the Leewards' growth, the Antiguans struck back when they had the opportunity. "Indian" Warner, it seems certain, was not truly their man, but he was obviously willing to accept English patronage to build his power base. After his demise, the English lost any chance to neutralize the Carib threat. They then had to resort to "Indian Hunts"and gunboat diplomacy to contain Carib aggres-

sion; but these measures were far from successful and only forged closer links between the Caribs and their French protectors. Nevertheless, as the events of the post-1688 period were to demonstrate, French policy had gained but a pyrrhic victory because the number of Island Caribs steadily declined. Through this demographic attrition rather than through either peace or war, the English Leewards finally gained a measure of security that allowed for the great sugar boom of the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR

"As if no such people existed": Island Caribs in Decline, 1689–1763

THE ISLAND CARIBS ceased to play a major role in intercolonial conflicts in the Lesser Antilles during the years 1689–1763. The numbers of these once-feared warriors declined rapidly in this era due to a combination of disease, suicide, and perhaps most of all, retreat to the South American mainland to avoid the pressures of European colonization and, at St. Vincent, of an increasingly powerful Black Carib majority. But even if, hypothetically, Island Caribs had been able to maintain their numbers of the 1680s, they had to defend their autonomy in a far different context than before 1689. Between 1689 and 1763, England and France engaged in four wars in which the Caribbean was a vital theatre. The increasingly prosperous sugar islands became the jewels of these European empires, and Whitehall and Versailles targeted substantial resources to their defense. As professional armies and navies gradually replaced buccaneers, colonial militias, and local sloops as the chief fighting forces, the fire power of Carib warriors became less and less relevant. At most, Island Caribs could use their mountain redoubts and guerrilla tactics to make life difficult for would-be conquerors. After about 1690, however, these vaunted warriors never again ventured assaults on European-held islands. The era of terror raids had passed.

Great power hostilities, nevertheless, helped Island Caribs in the short run to maintain a measure of independence at Dominica and St. Vincent. Strategic and economic factors inhibited full-fledged European invasions of these islands. England and France well understood the geopolitical importance of restraining the other from occupying these islands, as well as St. Lucia and Tobago. Economic interests in the metropoles and to a lesser extent in the islands also promoted the status quo in what would later be called the "Neutral Islands" (i.e., Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago). Principally London but also Versailles mistrusted the presence of European squatters in these islands because they facilitated interisland smuggling, especially of slaves. Because of their monopoly of British sugar markets, powerful planter interests in Barbados and the Leewards opposed colonization of the Neutrals.[1] Why promote competition and

thus lower prices? The only temptation to conquer these islands, so useful for logging and fishing, was the some four thousand Black Caribs at St. Vincent who would fetch a high price in the Spanish slave marts.

Island Caribs ultimately lost control of St. Vincent and Dominica not as a result of large invasion forces but gradually. Over time Dominica Caribs grudgingly came to accept the permanent presence of French settlers, who by the late 1730s controlled perhaps half of the island.[2] French island officials, although not necessarily Versailles, encouraged this emigration for a variety of reasons. Unlike the English, the French island population grew steadily in the eighteenth century,[3] and for them Dominica and to a lesser extent St. Vincent were adjacent outlets. These settlers then produced the timber and ground provisions that the planters so desperately needed, unlike their English counterparts, who were so well supplied from the North American mainland. Local French officials also assumed that a significant presence in these islands was of strategic value, and in this regard the French Court somewhat grudgingly concurred. At St. Vincent, on the other hand, an increasing French presence was largely at the invitation of Caribs, more and more the losers to Black Caribs in a fierce struggle to control the island. Island Caribs (now called "Yellow" Caribs in contemporary documents) tried to prevent this outcome by alliances with the French, but without long-term success. Unable to resist French and Black Carib encroachments, Caribs from both islands increasingly migrated to the safety of the South American mainland. When the British captured St. Vincent and Dominica in 1760–62, there were precious few Caribs left there.

AFTER THE ACCESSION of William and Mary to the English throne in 1688, the second Hundred Years' War between France and Britain (1689–1815) began. The declaration of war in mid-1689 released pent-up hatreds in the Antilles. As seen in the previous chapter, many English islanders were none too pleased with the Treaty of Neutrality; in fact, the unpopularity of Leewards governor Johnson owed much to his sincere efforts to implement the letter and spirit of the treaty. No small part of English antipathy to their French neighbors related to the latter's perceived deployment of Island Caribs as weapons of terror, and not only in times of war. The depth of island antagonisms surfaced quickly as both sides employed unscrupulous tactics. In 1689, French planters at St. Christopher easily routed the English, in part because they used their slaves to fire enemy plantations and terrorize the inhabitants. Soon, however, under the resourceful leadership of a new governor, Christopher Codrington, the Leewards raised a force of three thousand men that put the French to flight. Codrington then led his militia to victory at Marie Galante and to a partial triumph at Guadeloupe, where much destruction took place. According to

French sources, the English committed incredible atrocities against their French prisoners.[4] Both sides engaged in conduct that was increasingly unacceptable in more professionalized European warfare but that resembled contemporary conflicts on the New England and New York frontiers. Combatants who relied on militias and irregulars could not compel anything like professional discipline.

Evocation of the Canadian frontier and the important French deployment of Amerindian allies there immediately raises the question of Island Carib involvement in the Antillean struggle. The vaunted Carib threat was to prove at most a minor irritant to English islanders during this war. In 1689, it appeared that the French sympathies of most Caribs would pay the promised dividends when twelve to fourteen pirogues of bowmen from Dominica and St. Vincent offered assistance.[5] English islanders feverishly pushed the building of interior fortifications at Antigua because the "French constantly bring these heathen allies with them." As Codrington reported in late 1689, Caribs, "set on I presume by the French," had indeed raided the island, killing six and taking three prisoners.[6] Nevertheless, these warriors had only a negligible impact on this war, unlike that of 1666–67. The archives are silent about what role if any these French auxiliaries played after 1690. Faced with tangible evidence of growing English strength, Island Caribs perhaps judged it prudent to avoid offending Codrington. One French report of 1690 gives some support to this speculation; it blamed the insufficiency of Carib support for the failure of a French expedition against Spanish Trinidad. Also in that year French intendant Du Maitz de Goimpy warned the minister not to expect much from promised Carib assaults on Antigua and Montserrat; indeed, there is no evidence that these sorties even occurred.[7] In 1693, Cordington felt safe enough to take one thousand men from the Leewards for an attack on Martinique, without apparent fear of an Indian strike in his absence.[8]

How ironic that the careful French diplomacy with Island Caribs had yielded such paltry rewards! Writing in the early eighteenth century, the English author John Oldmixon explained the decline of the Carib threat in terms of a demographic weakness that made them reluctant to disturb relations with more powerful neighbors.[9] There would appear to be much truth in this assessment, although available statistics are confusing in every way save one, the long-term decline of aboriginal populations. In 1683, Intendant Michel Bégon gave an estimate of only six hundred Caribs at Dominica.[10] Father Labat, who briefly toured the island in the late 1690s, estimated that two thousand aborigines lived there, but with a marked preponderance of women and children.[11] The Englishman Richard Falconer, who was stranded on the island shortly after that time, counted only one hundred "families," a total more compatible with Bégon's and later estimates than with Labat's. Caribs tried to prevent Fal-

coner from leaving Dominica in fear that he would reveal their demographic weakness and thus invite attacks on their lands.[12] A French memoir of 1713 reckons a figure of four or five hundred Caribs "who refuse to recognize any foreign sovereign."[13] If these lower estimates are accurate, as seems likely, Dominican Caribs must have feared the possibility of an English landing to gain revenge. By 1730, according to another source, four hundred individuals remained, but by 1749 that number had apparently decreased to forty or fifty. A few years later another estimate placed sixty to eighty aborigines on Dominica.[14] By then, they had become a forgotten minority.

Although St. Vincent started off with greater numbers, the situation there paralleled this decline. In 1683 Bégon estimated six thousand Caribs on the island, four thousand of whom were Black Caribs.[15] This is the earliest evidence of the startling growth of these Caribs, who, it is thought, were probably the product of Carib procreation with African female slaves brought to St. Vincent as fugitives from other islands (especially Barbados), as captives of Carib raids, and as survivors of shipwrecked European slavers.[16] Eventually, an autonomous Afro-Carib community emerged that accepted Carib cultural traditions and customs—the most visible being the flattening of babies' heads. A report of 1706 gave a figure of one thousand Black Carib bowmen as compared to six hundred Island Carib.[17] An estimate of four to five thousand Caribs of all types is found in a 1713 document.[18] By 1762 and the British conquest, the population estimates range from two to five thousand Black Caribs and only one hundred Caribs.[19] Island Caribs had lost the struggle for survival with their former slaves/servants; however, the latter may also have suffered significant population declines since 1700.

What explains the stunning population losses of Caribs in this era? It can only be speculated, since almost no eighteenth-century writers lived among the Caribs, that Old World diseases continued to reduce their number. (Contemporary sources always remark upon these aborigines' robust good health, rarely commenting on their diseases.[20] It is possible that, like Central and South American Amerindians, Island Caribs had already passed through the most damaging phase of epidemic disease.) In addition, wars with mainland Indian enemies and especially the civil war with the Black Caribs at St. Vincent must be part of any explanation. And cultural disorientation and despair due to increasingly futile efforts to protect their lands against European and Black Carib encroachment may have led to suicides by manioc poison.[21] But probably the most important explanation is their flight to the South American mainland in response to attacks on their culture. The precipitous decline in numbers after 1740 appears to be primarily the result of this southward migration.[22]

French island officials in 1689 strongly encouraged Island Carib par-

Visit of Caribs to the French. From Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Antilles . . .* (Paris, 1667–71).
Note the pirogues, the hammock, and the pineapple offering of the Carib visitors.

ticipation against an English foe "who feared nothing worse than this kind of war."[23] But it appears that these officials overestimated the depth of Carib hatred or, for that matter, the extent of their supposed love for the French. English and French commentators had always accepted, perhaps too facilely, the absoluteness and permanency of Carib animosity toward the English. Carib diplomatic behavior was more rational than what European observers presumed it to be. Simply stated, Island Caribs acted to preserve their perceived self-interest. Well aware of their own numerical and technological inferiority, they had always respected and "submitted"—at least temporarily and rhetorically—to the dominant power on the scene. In the past that power had most often been France, thanks to her more combative island militias. But the William Willoughby and *Marie Rose* expeditions showed how quickly Island Caribs would shift "loyalties" and sign "treaties." The Codrington offensive of 1690–93, in the end unsuccessful due to lack of naval support, threatened to rupture French-Carib ties.[24] In 1692 Du Maitz de Goimpy had to rush presents to St. Vincent to counter a Barbadian proposal for a "treaty."[25] The Caribs now seemingly recognized that their habit of raiding the Leewards might bring severe repercussions. For the first time, English islanders were displaying martial verve and valor. After 1690, London received no further reports of aboriginal raids.

Despite disappointment with Carib actions in the 1690s, the French continued to foster good relations. A perfect instrument to maintain this stance in the early war years was the aged Governor-General Blénac (d. 1696), because he "inspired so much respect and fear for the king's arms among the Dominica and St. Vincent Caribs that they are in submission."[26] "Submission" in this context meant that missionaries and *coureurs* could operate without danger. (An example of this cooperation occurred in 1694 after an English ship set ashore some French prisoners on Dominica; Caribs immediately carried them to Martinique.)[27] Versailles and island officials remained zealous in their support of the missions despite abundant evidence that conversions were exceedingly rare and that missionaries had long ago lost their enthusiasm for these apparently intractible pagans.[28] In 1689 Du Maitz de Goimpy informed Seignelay that the successor of Father Philippe at Dominica had a "particular talent to insinuate himself among these barbarous peoples, so that we can hope from his work all the success that instruction can have on the spirit of these infidels."[29] Ten years later Governor-General d'Amblimont informed Jerôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, secretary of state for the Marine, that despite meager Jesuit successes at St. Vincent it was crucial to retain them there because of their influence on the *sauvages*. Although he piously hoped for their Christianization, as he recalled the long period necessary for the conversion of ancient Romans, d'Amblimont pointed

out that through the missionaries "one can be notified of many things which transpire among these peoples."[30] The work of the missionaries in conjunction with the frequent trade contacts made pidgin French something of a lingua franca among the aborigines by 1700.[31]

Island officials vigorously enforced the fair treatment policy. For example, in order to prevent a rupture in relations Du Maitz de Goimpy zealously pursued a Martiniquan for the murder of a Vincentian Carib.[32] Father Labat proudly asserted that French traders were not allowed to take advantage of "simple-minded" savages, who valued the numbers of coins rather than their face value.[33] Despite the declining strategic value of Carib alliances, their maintenance and good health remained official policy.[34]

The Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 was merely a truce, and both sides prepared for a resumption of hostilities. Pontchartrain launched a vigorous buildup of French positions throughout the Americas in anticipation of a Bourbon succession to the Spanish throne or, in the event of a Habsburg successor, the dismemberment of Spain's American empire. Pontchartain and his advisors argued that a major increase in the nation's presence at St. Domingue (Haiti today), formally recognized as French at Ryswick, was the primary goal in the Caribbean.[35] This new focal point of French interest meant that the Lesser Antilles gradually assumed less and less importance. Nevertheless, Pontchartain warned island officials to take all necessary measures—including force—to inhibit any English initiatives at Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago.

Also preparing for the renewal of war, William III ordered the governor of Barbados, Ralph Grey, to remove all foreign settlers from Tobago, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Dominica.[36] At the same time, Grey's instructions prevented him from granting any lands on those islands.[37] London's policy was to maintain the English claim to these islands so necessary for wood-hungry Barbados, but to prevent them from becoming a casus belli.[38] Grey reported in 1699 that an English woodcutting ship had discovered many French settlers with African slaves at St. Lucia.[39] After the Council of Trade and Plantations (which had replaced the Lords of Trade in 1696) searched futilely for proof of England's possession of this island, the king ordered Grey to warn the French to vacate it or force would be employed.[40] Sometime late in 1699 two armed sloops under a Barbadian councillor named Tobias Frere appeared at Dominica, where he apparently concluded a "treaty" with some basseterre Caribs.[41] Frere's "woodcutters" proceeded to construct a fort defended by cannon, a clear breach of the 1660 treaty. To local Caribs they argued that cannon were necessary to salute them during their drinking festivals *(grands vins)*.[42] D'Amblimont responded quickly but cautiously to this unwelcome intrusion. He asked French woodcutters to spy on the English establishment and, in time-honored tradition, worked to persuade capesterre Caribs to evict Frere's

party. The governor-general sent a protest note to Barbados, but the council there told London that Frere often went to cut wood at Dominica. The council also claimed never to have heard of the 1660 treaty and professed to know nothing about Francis Lord Willoughby's temporary conquest of St. Lucia in 1664.[43] In London, after the strongly stated view of the Council of Trade and Plantations that royal claims to the "unoccupied" islands were indubitably legitimate, William III reiterated his orders that Grey force French interlopers to leave.[44] Interestingly, the Council of Trade and Plantations partly based its argument upon the legitimacy of Thomas "Indian" Warner's patents as deputy governor of Dominica. Without mentioning the outcome, it noted that Philip Warner had been tried for the murder. In this episode, it is not certain whether Frere was acting at Grey's behest or, what seems more likely, as a free agent.

At Dominica, a *grand vin* brought Carib factions together for a discussion of the English presence with the predictable result of an alcohol-driven skirmish between basseterre and capesterre Caribs. Island officials assured Versailles that upon arrival of a royal frigate they would as ordered chase away English interlopers.[45] Before the frigate's arrival, a French corsair had already sacked the English post and soon the survivors were reported packing their bags for Barbados. Fortunately, these islands and these issues were not important enough to breach the peace.

In 1700 Governor-General d'Amblimont intervened in the growing discord between the Black Caribs and the Caribs at St. Vincent. As noted above, the former had come to outnumber the latter by the 1680s, and weakness drove the "Yellow" Caribs to seek French protection. Evidently not wishing to alienate either group, the governor-general attempted to impose a barrier between them. This divide, the *barre de l'île,*[46] which allocated the more fertile windward half to the Black Caribs, was ineffective from the start. From then on, English and French relations with the inhabitants of St. Vincent became a more complex quadripartite affair, which would make French predominance much more difficult to achieve. The following year, 1701, in exchange for establishing a mission at Grenada the Jesuits finally received the long-desired permission to abandon their fruitless efforts at St. Vincent.[47] Perhaps the dangerous civil wars at St. Vincent persuaded the government to abandon its old position on the issue.

During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13) the Carib question lay largely dormant. Island Caribs, it may be deduced, attempted to avoid conflict with either European nation. If Falconer's estimate of their numbers at Dominica is reliable, their self-imposed isolationism is certainly rational and understandable. Caribs received visiting ships of both nations, such as Falconer's, and avoided mistreating European loggers. Both countries sought to preserve and even expand their interests; Pont-

chartrain, for example, inquired in 1705 about the feasibility of gaining more direct control of Dominica in order to exploit mines rumored to exist there.[48] The realities of the war situation rendered futile such dreams. The English government maintained its established policy of claiming sovereignty over the "unoccupied" islands and threatening force to expel trespassers.[49] At the same time, island officials were not to allow settlers there. As for the Caribs, London advised the governor of Barbados to "encourage all natives to seek British protection."[50]

The situation was somewhat different at St. Vincent. Sometime before 1700 a conflict erupted between the Black Caribs of St. Vincent and French settlers at Grenada. The governor of Barbados, Sir Bevill Granville, was quick to take advantage. As reported to the Council of Trade and Plantations in 1706, Granville tried to help Caribs (Black Caribs?) "shake off their dependence on the French" and accept British sovereignty. The enthusiastic council encouraged him with words of high praise.[51] The following year his successor, Metford Crowe, sent warships to cruise St. Vincent and Dominica. When the ships returned with Carib representatives, he lavished presents on these native dignitaries. But when a note of doubt about their loyalty crept into one of his letters, he was forced to admit that "they understand more French than English." The ship captain who brought these natives to Barbados was much less optimistic. He said: "It appears plainly that they are very hearty to ye French interests."[52] Crowe was able to salvage the relationship even when injuries—presumably the work of private parties—led these Caribs to flee Barbados.[53] The governor dispatched two more men-of-war with substantial presents, and they soon returned with more Caribs and a written treaty that called upon the Indians to assist passing English ships and to return refugee slaves.[54] From 1707 to the war's conclusion the British apparently maintained peaceful relations with all Caribs.[55]

French officials, alarmed by Crowe's power play, rushed to check this threatening situation by sending a Major Couiller to St. Vincent. Armed with numerous presents and abundant spirits, this old friend of Vincentian Caribs hosted a *grand vin* at which he appeared naked and painted "as a savage." He extracted a promise from Black Caribs to kill some Englishmen and bring their roasted hands as trophies to Martinique. According to Labat, the alcohol-dazed guests also promised to cease their assaults on Grenada and to permit their host to take a hostage as a guarantee of the concord.[56] No evidence exists to demonstrate that Black Caribs fulfilled their promise to barbecue some Englishmen; surely Crowe's reports could not have failed to mention such acts.

French archives are silent about Island Caribs from 1709 to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which probably meant peaceable times at Dominica and St. Vincent. Caribs and Black Caribs evidently promised whatever the

white men requested in return for peace, presents, and evidence that they did not intend to settle on the Indian islands. They "signed" whatever document was thrust before them, especially when asked to do so on alien grounds such as a British war ship, so often in the past a trap for unwary warriors. In truth, Island Caribs had trapped themselves by their unwillingness to live without European ironware, cloth, and spirits and thus tried to please both sides while retaining territorial autonomy. For some time this strategy worked, even on St. Vincent where civil war between Black Caribs and "Yellow"Caribs left both vulnerable to outside forces.

The only substantial result of the Treaty of Utrecht for the Lesser Antilles was the British takeover of the French sections of St. Christopher. French island officials responded to this loss by advocating the immediate occupation of Dominica and St. Lucia, which would not only strengthen security but provide outlets for surplus population.[57] They advised Versailles to abandon all claims to islands like Tobago and even Grenada in order to secure clear title to the islands adjacent to Martinique.[58] Although a glance at the map supports this sound reasoning, the central government in 1714 ordered instead the removal of all French interlopers from Dominica and St. Lucia. It evidentally hoped to avoid offending the English who also claimed these islands, as well as Caribs resentful of the growing French presence. As regards St. Vincent, Louis XIV ordered island officials to help Caribs in their difficult struggle against the Black Caribs. He said: "It would be much in the interest of the islands if all these negroes [sic] could be destroyed so that those who have the desire to run away would no longer have an assured haven."[59]

Even during the twenty-four previous years of war but more dramatically after Utrecht, French island population and wealth markedly increased. From 1687 to 1712, Guadeloupe's population jumped from 3,232 whites to 4,991, and doubled again by 1738.[60] Martinique, by far the most populous of the French Lesser Antilles, grew steadily from 4,770 Europeans in 1683 to 14,000 in 1756.[61] The number of African slaves increased much more dramatically to service the booming sugar and coffee plantation economy. Inevitably, this population pressure led some French colonists to search for fresh lands. St. Domingue, the large and fertile island to the west, was the major attraction, but more than a few inhabitants of Martinique and Guadeloupe saw opportunities closer to home at St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica. There they could grow provisions for neighboring sugar islands and live without civil government and its corollary, taxes.

The British colonists of the Lesser Antilles had far less interest in settling Carib islands than did their French counterparts. Although the British Lesser Antilles prospered in the eighteenth century, their European population declined. A steady decrease in the Leeward Islands from 12,420 to

7,990 marked the period 1724–74.[62] The white population of Barbados, which had peaked at 23,000 in 1655, declined to 16,888 in 1715.[63] A 1724 estimate gives a figure of 18,295, but by midcentury there were perhaps only 15,000 English.[64] Terrible problems of soil erosion and declining fertility due to over-intensive cultivation forced Barbadian planters to employ more and more slaves per acre to maintain steady sugar production. By 1750 such latecomers to the sugar revolution as Antigua and St. Christopher (now called St. Kitts) had reached the level of Barbadian production but on far less acreage. No wonder Barbados planters were heartily opposed to colonization schemes for "unoccupied" islands like St. Lucia and St. Vincent.[65] They had too much competition already.

Between 1715 and 1730 both Versailles and London sought to increase their influence at Dominica, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia, although the Franco-British alliance of 1716–31 exerted a moderating force on potential conflicts. After Utrecht, Frenchmen who planted crops as well as logged and traded with Caribs joined the usual *coureurs* at Dominica. By 1722 at least forty French were more or less permanent residents—so many that a concerted Carib action temporarily forced them to depart.[66] At St. Vincent, French island officials concluded a treaty in 1719 with the hard-pressed "Yellow" Caribs, who ceded all of their rights to the king (Louis XV under the Regency of the Duc d'Orléans). The weakened natives accepted a de facto protectorate status in return for France's "powerful protection" against Black Caribs, "our usurping neighbors." "Yellow" Caribs even agreed to enroll in French militia companies and to accept rule by French officials. All the aborigines asked for was that the French not take their lands "under any pretext."[67] A joint expedition was undertaken against the Black Caribs who, upon capture, would fetch handsome profits at the burgeoning French colony at St. Domingue.[68] The enterprise of 1719 turned to debacle, which the French blamed on their allies for failure to support the action. Without native guides and trackers the French suffered merciless harassment at night, with Black Carib guerrillas slipping back to their mountain strongholds during the day. These Black Caribs subsequently declared themselves to be under British protection.[69] French troops never again took the field against these tough fighters.

Also in 1719, the regent granted Marshall d'Estrées the island of St. Lucia. A colonial expedition soon ensued, but the settlers were quickly withdrawn in the face of vigorous British protests.[70] The Duc d'Orléans reverted to the traditional policy of no settlements on these islands. Only woodcutters and fishermen had a right to temporary residence in the "unoccupied" isles. Island officials, however, took few pains to enforce this policy.

The English now fished in these troubled waters. George I granted St. Lucia and St. Vincent to the Duke of Montagu, for whom Nathaniel

Uring organized a colonial expedition. After a successful descent at St. Lucia in late 1722, Uring dispatched a ship to St. Vincent to distribute lavish presents to Caribs (Black Caribs?) in preparation for a landing there. French *coureurs* and settlers received stern warnings to depart. Protesting vehemently this usurpation, Versailles briskly informed Whitehall that St. Vincent was a neutral territory and that St. Lucia had always been French. The governor-general at Martinique, who had already forcibly removed Uring's settlers from St. Lucia,[71] distributed arms to the Black Caribs and promised active assistance for any campaign against English intruders. These Black Caribs now "owned themselves under the protection of the French," although making it clear that Frenchmen could not settle in force either.[72] The failure of the private proprietors pushed Britain and France to conclude an agreement that forced a British evacuation of St. Vincent; the French agreed not to settle there. Both nations retained the traditional rights to water and wood. The Black Caribs had once again demonstrated their ability to participate "rationally" in the world of balance of power realpolitik.

Although these were the last major attempts to change the balance of power in the islands until the Seven Years' War, a number of minor incidents continued to plague Anglo-French relations in the Caribbean. After 1723 the slow trickle of French settlers to St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Dominica grew gradually into a small stream. Over three hundred lived at Dominica by the late 1720s, so many that the governor-general appointed a commander there. This local French potentate, one Le Grand, cajoled the Caribs by threats, war, and liberal handouts into accepting this large and permanent French presence.[73] In a memoir, he claimed to have halted increasing English influence at Dominica, which had been acquired by generous gifts and French official neglect.[74] It is highly probable that Le Grand exaggerated British influence so as to magnify his role as the indispensable man. A memoir of 1730 implicitly contested Le Grand's assertions, arguing that Dominica Caribs favorably received the French settlers so as to have easier access to European goods; it adds that they even aided the planters to capture runaway slaves.[75] For whatever reasons, Dominica Caribs ceased to oppose a permanent French community. They now had only three choices: submission to the French, withdrawal to the remoter areas along the windward coast, or migration to the mainland. Their numbers dwindled annually.

Conversely, despite all treaties and guarantees, the number of French increased swiftly at Dominica after 1730. Even the solemn agreement of Paris and London to compel the eviction of all nationals from the so-called Neutral Islands meant little to French island officials and even less to squatters.[76] A follow-up order to evacuate the French from St. Lucia after stiff British protests had not been implemented by 1740 because of various

pretexts. Three years later there were 717 French at Dominica, and by 1753, 1,260 settlers with 3,500 slaves called the island home. A 1764 census counted 1,718 French at Dominica.[77] What previous French governments had failed to do had been accomplished by individual pioneers. Dominica had become in all but name French.

A similar story unfolded at St. Lucia and St. Vincent. The evacuation orders of 1731 and 1735 found little acquiescence from French squatters and island officials, even though Versailles pressed the issue in part to prevent these islands from serving as illicit entrepôts for the extensive smuggling activities. Present-day Castries at St. Lucia became a notorious sieve in the *(soi-disant)* mercantilist empires of Britain and France. At St. Vincent a significant number of *coureurs* and settlers sustained the French presence in these years, and they were instrumental in foiling British designs. Neither European nation, however, any longer expressed confidence in their ability to subdue the Black Caribs, "who fight for their liberty even more than for their country."[78] By the 1740s the approximately five to six thousand Black Caribs had so intimidated the perhaps thirteen hundred "Yellow" Caribs that many of these now reportedly migrated to the Orinoco region of the mainland.[79] Increasing numbers of French planters and their slaves moved onto the Caribs' abandoned lands along the Leeward coast. The census of 1764 counted some 1,300 French and 3,400 Africans.[80] The remaining Caribs huddled near the French settlements for protection.

At the conclusion of the Austrian Succession War, in which Britain and France fought from 1744 to 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored the status quo ante. Once again, France and Britain reaffirmed the 1731 agreement about the Neutral Islands; once again, both sides firmly ordered the evacuation of their nationals; once again, the infinitely more numerous French squatters refused to leave their increasingly prosperous holdings. The issue of French delay in implementing the treaty's provisions regarding the Neutral Islands embittered Anglo-French relations. Efforts to negotiate especially the status of St. Lucia turned on each side's historical claims, the result of which was a mass of documents valuable to historians.[81] Thanks in part to chroniclers like Du Tertre, France was successful in affirming its right to St. Lucia, and this island would be the only one of the Neutrals assigned to France at the 1763 Treaty of Paris.

Unresolved Anglo-French disputes throughout the New World were finally settled during the Seven Years' War. In the Caribbean theater, the British so dominated the seas that assaults launched against Guadeloupe (1759), Dominica (1761), Martinique, St. Lucia, and Grenada (1762) were successful. French power ceased in the Lesser Antilles. Yet, despite their military upper hand, a British government pressured by the powerful West India lobby returned Martinique, Guadeloupe, and even the disputed St.

Lucia to France.[82] The British kept the other Neutral Islands plus Grenada.

It may truly be said that the French won all or most of the battles but that the British won the war. Control of the Carib reservation and other "unoccupied" islands was the prize. The practical and relatively humane French policy toward the Island Caribs could not alter the fact of these aborigines' demographic decline, which in turn opened especially Dominica to French pioneers. These settlements, apparently cautiously welcomed by the Caribs for economic and strategic reasons, ultimately persuaded most remaining natives to depart for the mainland. So when British officials took possession of these islands after 1763 they had to worry only about the loyalties of their new French subjects and, in St. Vincent, about the future of the Black Carib population.

The "Yellow" Caribs at Dominica and St. Vincent numbered only about two hundred in 1763.[83] They received no mention in 1763 at the famous Treaty of Paris, "as if no such people existed."[84] Within half a century, some 3,500 individuals had either perished or fled to the mainland. These people, who had valiantly battled Spaniards, Dutch, Englishmen, and Frenchmen with Stone-Age weapons to preserve their island homelands, found themselves relegated to remote areas of Dominica and St. Vincent. They were now of interest only to some contemporary littérateurs and later anthropologists.

CHAPTER FIVE

Age of Iron to Age of Sentimentality: Island Caribs in the European Literary Imagination, 1660s–1760s

DESPITE THE GRADUAL disappearance of Island Caribs in the century spanning the 1660s to the 1760s, their impact on European literature increased. Thanks to their countrymen's frequent contact with Island Caribs, French writers had available both detailed and mildly sympathetic firsthand accounts of these "cannibals." Rochefort's history, the various works of Du Tertre, and his fellow Dominican Labat's *Nouveau voyage* at the turn of the eighteenth century made Island Caribs among the best-known Amerindians. French readers had a choice between negative accounts based on dated Spanish sources and the more balanced descriptions of the missionaries and voyagers. While the situation was quite different in England before 1660, when one read about the Carib only as the most degraded form of humanity, the translation of Rochefort by John Davies in 1666 provided English audiences with a more complex and predominantly favorable picture of these maligned peoples. Although Englishmen in the islands maintained primarily hostile relations with these aborigines during the century after 1660, Rochefort's book and to a lesser extent those of Du Tertre and Labat had some positive impact on evolving English images of Carib "cannibals."

In the century after 1660, for the first time since the beginning of English and French interactions with Island Caribs, positive correlations between European policies and images may be warranted. Chapter One revealed a wide gap between brutally negative metropolitan images and normally cordial relations between these aborigines and marginally literate European sailors and merchants, who seemed unaware of the "cannibals'" reputation for depravity. Then, during the "Heroic Age" of colonization (1623–60), the more favorable impressions of French missionaries had little immediate impact on island officials and colonists who were expelling Island Caribs from their major strongholds. English islanders, who possessed no sources of favorable opinion of these "savages," were not significantly more hostile than their French counterparts. From the 1660s on, Louis XIV and Colbert promoted a policy of *douceur* that blended well with the missionaries' rehabilitation of these natives. This policy remained

in force for much of the next hundred years, unlike in England where a similar strategy of Charles II had less success in restraining settler aggressions. While there can be no proof, it seems plausible to hypothesize that French metropolitan images of Island Caribs after 1660 retained a sympathetic component in part because of this conjunction of policy and literary image. Did colonial administrators at Paris and in the islands read the Du Tertres and the Rocheforts? Although some evidence suggests the affirmative, what lessons then did they learn? Colbert's policy of *douceur* after 1670 resulted from an unsentimental calculation of its benefits, not from any religious or humanitarian sentiment. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to argue that generally hostile English relations with Island Caribs in the period 1660–1763 contributed to the prevalence (despite Rochefort) of negative images of these "cannibals." Or, to put it another way, efforts to overcome encrusted stereotypes found little support in colonial realities. Images of another culture, once forged in the cauldron of interethnic relations, retain a tensile strength and resiliency that only major alterations of that relationship can affect.

JOHN DAVIES ATTEMPTED to fill a large gap in English knowledge about the islands with his pirating of Rochefort's work. Only Ligon's book on Barbados was available. According to Davies, ignorance about the islands and its aboriginal inhabitants was the rule. And yet the economic importance of the Lesser Antilles was evident and their strategic value became apparent in the very year in which Davies and Rochefort appeared (1666). Davies probably chose the Protestant Rochefort instead of a Catholic missionary like Du Tertre for the obvious reason, and because the former's writing was more literary and entertaining. Like Du Tertre, however, Rochefort strongly condemned English conduct toward Island Caribs and referred frequently to these aborigines' seemingly implacable anglophobia.[1] On the other hand, Rochefort's humanizing depictions of these *sauvages* contradicted the old images. Caribs are chaste not epicurean, he wrote; they are content with what nature provides, rather than indolent. If they are cannibals, they engage in ritualistic acts only against Amerindian enemies. They are simple and naive, not dull and stupid. And most importantly, they pose little danger to European colonies. Rochefort acknowledges Carib vices, but he blames them on the bad example of Europeans and demonstrates that their vices were not worse than other peoples'—in fact, far from it.[2]

While Rochefort did have a measurable effect on English opinion, it is important not to exaggerate the impact of one book. For example, the author of the introduction to an important collection of voyages could remove Island Caribs from history. "The Caribbee islands are many . . . some of them possessed by the English, French and Dutch, others not

inhabited."[3] Also, it cannot be assumed that all English readers would have assimilated a message like Rochefort's. In presenting his work to his patron, Davies himself remarks: "They [Caribs] are in hope, that neither the obscurity of their origins, nor the harshness of their language, nor the barbarism of their manners . . . will offend you."[4]

Nevertheless, three popular histories of America benefited directly from Rochefort's account. John Ogilby devotes five pages to Carib culture that notably avoid the traditional sensationalism. Although he did opine that they are of a "dull spirit, stubborn and nothing to be got out of them but by fair means," this grudging evaluation seems humane compared with the standard indictments of the cosmographers.[5] In his frequently reprinted *English Empire in America,* Nathaniel Crouch repeats the traditional charge of Carib cannibalism, but also describes these Amerindians as handsome, healthy, and contented peoples. After he recounts a story concerning a Carib chief's dignified oration against further European violation of aboriginal property, Crouch interpolates: "This kind of discourse may well exempt them from the opprobrious denomination of savages."[6] John Oldmixon's work of 1708 (also 1741) cites both Rochefort and Du Tertre, although their relatively sympathetic views of Island Caribs led this tart francophobe to wonder "why are they [then] called savages?" These French authors, he continues, "made them out as civil as Europeans," but Oldmixon could not refrain from asserting that these "savages" are "perhaps the only people on earth that eats human flesh."[7] Despite these caveats, Oldmixon's history helped publicize the less hostile French approach to Carib mores. Besides these histories, Hans Sloane's famous *Voyage,* while only peripherally concerned with Island Caribs, cites Du Tertre and Rochefort to support a few sympathetic passages. These Indians "who are not covetous, nor trouble themselves about many things as we do, have much advantage of us."[8]

The apparent impact of Rochefort's and to a lesser extent Du Tertre's more benign images of Caribs must be balanced against the persistence of traditional views. Eight reprintings of the previously discussed work of Samuel Clarke were available, as were English translations of the fantastic voyages of Vincent Le Blanc and the hopelessly dated travels of Jean Mocquet. As noted earlier, these French sources perpetuated sordid views of "cannibals."[9] Still, after 1666, English readers, like their French counterparts, possessed alternative images of the much despised Island Caribs. Never again would the banalities of the cosmographers be the only source of information.

AFTER THE MID-SEVENTEENTH century, American aborigines including Island Caribs, played a curious role in the evolution of "political science." Most critics insist that the rationalist political philosophies of Thomas

Hobbes and John Locke do not require historical and anthropological verification. In Hobbes's case, the fact that there are only three references to America in his opus makes it difficult to gainsay their viewpoint.[10] No doubt Hobbes's concept of man in the state of nature was abstracted from his psychological insights into the nature of man, or, according to a more historicist perspective, from his universalization of man's condition in mid-seventeenth-century England.[11] Hobbes, however, apparently believed that his readers would not accept without some historical evidence his radical attack on traditional Aristotelean views about the natural sociability of the human animal. To contemporary skeptics who doubted his vision of man's natural condition as "solitary, poore, nasty, brutish and short," Hobbes replies that "there are many places, where they live so now." He uses "the savage people in many places of America" as a specific example. To support his novel contention that natural liberty equals antisocial behavior, even anarchy, Hobbes asks his readers to analyze their own behavior when leaving home armed. And the author once again cites America, which he feels is characterized by only the "natural government of small families" and therefore "have no government at all." As a result, he writes, they "live in this day in that brutish manner."[12] It hardly needs to be said that twentieth-century anthropologists would reject Hobbes's contentions about Amerindian society. More importantly, many *contemporary* works in English, French, and Latin available to Hobbes implicitly and sometimes explicitly refuted his contentions.

Insofar as Hobbes bases his argument on supporting evidence from America, it is useful to ascertain the depth of his knowledge about the New World. Unfortunately, the rareness of Hobbesian citations of sources makes this a difficult task. Hobbes, however, made assertions about man's natural condition that were not supported by the best contemporary evidence about Amerindians. His crucial linkage of warfare in the state of nature to man's covetousness found no support in for example Léry's history or Montaigne's "On Cannibals." In the paragraph separating his famous summation of the depraved natural condition of mankind and that claiming that Indians approximated natural men, Hobbes sardonically asks skeptical readers whether they fasten their doors at night, and whether they lock their treasure chests. Since numerous writers on Amerindians attested to the openness of their abodes and the rarety of theft, a more just conclusion would have been the Rousseauan one, that these behaviors are those of "civilized" men, not of people closer to a state of nature. Most sources on America demonstrated that *within* their tribal or village communities peoples like Tupinambas and Island Caribs lived harmoniously without the oppressive authority of Leviathan. Hobbes's denial that security for natural man could be achieved by assigning temporary authority to one man in wartime could have been challenged by many accounts that

showed that groups like Tupinambas and Island Caribs combined almost complete liberty (for men) in times of peace and strict discipline under one warrior during combat.

These contradictions between the Hobbesian analysis of primitive mankind and available descriptions suggest the limitations of the author's anthropological knowledge.[13] Perhaps he rapidly perused Haklyut's and Purchas's collections, or read Abbot or Heylin in school. Whichever sources Hobbes employed for his few generalizations about America, his a priori certainty about man's natural condition made unnecessary any serious anthropological verification. In addition, the general poverty of English anthropological knowledge meant that Hobbes could casually certify his contentions about the brutish primitive state by citing supposed Amerindian cultural conditions. Most English readers undoubtedly shared his ignorant and prejudiced perceptions.[14]

If Hobbesian authoritarianism rests on a shaky understanding of man's natural condition, then Lockean liberalism would appear to possess more solid anthropological underpinnings. Locke constantly cites evidence from America in his work, and his library contained an impressive number of travel relations and geographies in many languages.[15] His journal includes numerous citations from travel relations and histories of oversea lands. He composed a guide to travel relations in five languages: Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and English. In his complex—and sometimes confusing—analysis of the evolution of human society from the state of nature through the prepolitical stage to political society, Locke often refers to New World examples. He wrote: "In the beginning all of the world was America," although the addendum "and more so than that is now" shows that contemporary Amerindian conditions only approximate the earliest stage of man's existence. The "Americans" presumably exemplify prepolitical societies that guaranteed order and stability. Freedom tempered by the restraint of universal reason, not a war of all against all, characterizes humanity in the natural state. Locke specifically refers to peaceable trade between individuals in the New World as proof that "natural reason" could harness men's "passions" in the state of nature, or the stage of society most proximate to it.[16]

How thorough was Locke's understanding of Amerindian societies, and does that knowledge provide a solid anthropological foundation for his political philosophy? There is no doubt that because of his service with the Council on Trade and Plantations and, later, with the Board of Trade, as well as his connections with the Carolina enterprise, Locke was far more familiar with the New World than most of his contemporaries.[17] He apparently read extensively about America. Still, his knowledge was far from encyclopedic and his judgment not always impeccable. Long ago, Sir John Myres remarked that Locke's ignorance of the mature agricultural

societies of southeastern (U.S.) tribes led him to underestimate the settledness and stability of North American aborigines.[18] This is a crucial point for Locke's definition of private property, which specifically excludes the nonmonetary, mixed farming and hunting economies of North American Indians.[19] They roam over the land but do not possess it, a handy justification for their contemporaneous and future dispossession by burgeoning English communities.

His knowledge of the Caribbean and South America seems even less sophisticated than that of continental North America. For example, his reliance on Martire for the Island Caribs is startling, especially because he owned works by Rochefort (1658, in French) and Du Tertre. Discussing the wild variety of human customs, a point of capital importance for his influential *Essay on Human Understanding,* Locke could write: "The Caribs were wont to geld their children, on purpose to fat and eat them."[20] He lifted this ancient chestnut either from Martire or from later borrowers like Gomara, Herrera, d'Avity, Abbot (1635), Laet, Coppier, or Castell, all of whose books appear in his library. The philosopher of "empiricism" apparently preferred these dated secondhand sources to recent observers like Rochefort. Just one more example will suffice. Locke denies the universality of the idea of God by citing the atheism of Caribs and Brazilians.[21] Yet Léry, whom he cites, Rochefort, and Du Tertre depict these peoples as being immersed in a world of spirits (although supposedly more concerned with malignant than benign supernatural forces). Thus Locke either misread his sources or blithely equated animism and atheism.

Locke's *Two Treatises* has often been attacked for its analysis of the transition from the state of nature to political society. In the abstract, his thesis that private property—the individual's appropriation through his or her own labor of a part of God's commonwealth in the state of nature—is one's natural right and that the accumulation of such property, without depriving others, becomes consensually recognized does appear sound from moral, psychological, and even historical perspectives. However, the idea of unlimited property accumulation after the invention of money and its subsequent inheritability, with the resulting inevitable economic inequality, has been the focal point of interminable polemics. Within that debate, it has not been recognized adequately that Locke's views of the state(s) of nature and prepolitical society are in (apparent) contradiction to his evaluation of Amerindians. Remember, "in the beginning, all of the world was America." In contrast to Locke's supposed benign view of the state of nature, his attitudes toward the most primitive Amerindians (and Africans) are decidedly in the tradition of Acosta's and d'Avity's ignoble savages. Locke cites Acosta concerning the conditions of the precivilized people of Peru, who resembled contemporary Amerindians like Floridians and Brazilians, and who "have no certain kings, but as occasion is

offered, in peace or war, they choose their captains as they please."[22] Locke uses this example to show that all political society derives from the consent of equals, but at the same time he has chosen a passage from Acosta utterly disdainful of these "troops" of beastlike men. In other places Locke writes that such "naturals" are "deprived of reason"—a remarkable statement—and his views of Island Caribs, Brazilians, and Hottentots are fundamentally negative.[23]

To be sure, Locke's position is not the traditional one based on innate human depravity or the classical view of degeneracy from a mythical Golden Age. Influenced by Acosta and d'Avity, he places primitive man on the lowest rung of the social ladder, a ranking that theoretically could change given the proper environmental milieu and educational opportunities.[24] For example, he attributes the "ignorance of the ancient savage Americans" to their inability to use iron. Among the Hottentots, Locke informs his learned readers, your mental development would not have exceeded "these brutish ones."[25] His negative reaction to Caribs and "Brazilians" reflected ingrained stereotypes, although Locke's hierarchical typologies are more sophisticated and "modern." It is worth reiterating that he assumes that the most primitive Amerindians most closely approximate man in a state of nature. If in the beginning, indeed, all was America, how can these Lockean views of a brutish existence for savage peoples be squared with his theoretical analysis of a state of nature purportedly different from that of *Leviathan?* A state of nature in which men obey the laws of nature derived from their use of natural reason? In fact, Locke's anthropological views seem to support those analysts who contend that he held a double view of the state of nature and that the second negative conception was the "real Locke."[26] In the end, Locke's argument holds up best upon its rationalist, a priori foundations rather than upon its anthropological evidence.

Thus were two pillars of modern political thought, Hobbesian authoritarianism and Lockean liberalism, erected upon questionable anthropological foundations. To the extent that Amerindian cultures were called upon to provide empirical support for these now classical analyses of social and political evolution, that evidence cannot be said to support their conclusions. Both Hobbes and Locke took from America whatever was purportedly supportive of their views of man's natural condition.[27] The superficiality of contemporary European and especially English anthropological understanding meant that these political theories went unchallenged from an ethnohistorical perspective. And to a large extent that situation remains unchanged even in our own postcolonial era.

FRENCH IMAGES OF Island Caribs after the remarkable works of Rochefort and Du Tertre reflected the stubborn tenacity of traditional stereotypes. The historical account of Jean Clodoré applauds Caribs for their assistance

during the 1666-67 war against England, but despite his recommendation of Rochefort's book he is capable of writing that they "graze in the grass like wild beasts."[28] The important relation of La Borde, an assistant to the Jesuit mission at St. Vincent who could thus boast of firsthand knowledge, is ambivalent but most often negative about Carib culture. He praises their virtues of simplicity, honesty, and hospitality, but he more frequently dwells upon their "beastly life." La Borde denies that the *sauvages* practice chastity, "as many have claimed," and he asserts that they still eat Arawaks and occasionally Englishmen. He expresses deep pessimism about their capacity for Christianity, until they could first be "civilized and made men." Since the author calls them "the most stupid and brutal men in the world," the reader might well conclude that evangelization would be a long and fatiguing process.[29]

It is not easy to evaluate the impact of the Du Tertres and La Bordes on French literature in the Age of Louis XIV. There were no Montaignes or Jean-Jacques Rousseaus during the *grand siècle.* One searches in vain for Amerindians in the work of Corneille, Descartes, Pascal, Molière, or Racine.[30] The New World held small attraction for an upper-class reading public intoxicated with chivalric romances. Exceptions like the popular novel *Polexandre,* by Gomberville, confirm the rule because the action unfolds in the courtliest American civilization, Incan Peru.[31] The aristocratic cultural fad of *préciosité* could hardly honor Carib "savages" who "burp, fart and piss" during the daily repast.[32] Also, the triumphant classical and rationalist ideal that espoused universal and eternal truths and natural laws applicable to all human societies was infertile ground for ethnological studies. A figure as typical as Jean de La Bruyère, for example, scorned the popular but vulgar appeal of exotica and travel tales.[33] During the bitter controversy between ancients and moderns, the poet Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux sarcastically asked whether recent criticism of ancient poets like Homer and Virgil emanated from Huron or Tupinamba lodges; no, he replied, from the Academy at the Louvre![34] Furthermore, the political ideal of absolutism, based upon a pessimistic view of natural man and on a fiercely hierarchical social order, could not have much affinity with these reportedly libertine and egalitarian "Americans." At the apex of society, Louis XIV's interest in Amerindians was limited to court nobles dressing down to portray *sauvages* at royal ballets.[35]

When on rare occasions metropolitan authors refer to Caribs, cannibals, or, more generally, *sauvages,* their shallowness demonstrates the negligible impact of the intelligent works of the Du Tertres and Rocheforts, and of the Jesuits and Dominicans. For the great poet La Fontaine, the savage lives "without laws, arts or sciences," an extraordinarily trite remark almost two centuries after Columbus.[36] The well-known memoirist Tallémant des Réaux relates stories of scandal-ridden Frenchmen forced to emigrate

to the American wilderness, where they feared becoming viands for cannibal feasts.[37] Antoine Furetière, compiler of one of the first dictionaries, confuses American *sauvages* with the legendary wild men. A savage, he says, "also means wandering men who have no habitation . . . almost all of America is populated by savages. The greatest majority are anthropophagous . . . are shaggy, covered with hair." Yet, in another place, he cites Du Tertre's "*belle histoire*!"[38] Another author calls Caribs "Kaffirs or cannibals," an interesting amalgamation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century bad guys.[39] The voluminous writings of Bishop Bossuet rarely mention the New World, and only then to argue that God created primitive societies to demonstrate to what depths man can fall without the true religion.[40]

The crudity of these observations may best be put into proper context by observing that professional geographers of that era achieved only marginally greater sophistication. The royal geographer Du Val d'Abbeville dismisses peoples like Caribs as "brutes, without King or laws."[41] Allain Mallet avows his reliance on Du Tertre, only to reach very negative conclusions about Island Carib society.[42] Quite apparently, the cultural climate of Louis XIV's France was not receptive to the sympathetic passages in Du Tertre and Rochefort. Many readers instead sympathized with these authors' more negative evaluations. There were, in short, few connections between writers like Du Tertre and Rochefort, who sought to revamp the traditional ideas of the Island Caribs, and littérateurs in France, who preferred simplistic and sensational stereotypes.

THE DAWNING OF the Age of Enlightenment in the crucial decades between 1690 and 1720 opened an era of profound intellectual transformation.[43] All of the old certitudes—faith, monarchy, aristocracy—came under radical if often oblique attack. As some intellectuals came increasingly to question the innate superiority of European values and customs, they looked to other cultures for wisdom. Anthropological and especially pseudoanthropological thinking thrived in such a climate. The Huron chiefs of Baron La Hontan and the Persian dignitaries of Montesquieu arrived to teach alternate values and thereby to condemn the rottenness of European ways. In this environment of growing fascination with overseas societies, Island Caribs remained of continuing interest to European writers, despite their demographic decline and the fact that they no longer played any significant role in Caribbean diplomacy.[44]

There were two major strains of Enlightenment anthropology, the most important of which was intricately intertwined with the emerging concept of progress. This view conceived of human societies in hierarchical terms, an old idea to be sure. Jean Bodin, José de Acosta, Pierre d'Avity, and John Locke, just to mention thinkers previously discussed in this work, all

accepted the core idea of a human social ladder on which primitive, "vagabond" peoples like Island Caribs occupied the lowest rung. An influential contemporary of Locke, for example, lumped together Irishmen, Africans, and Amerindians at the bottom.[45] The hierarchizing concept of human social evolution blossomed in the eighteenth century. For Enlightenment thinkers influenced by this idea, peoples like Caribs and the Hottentots of southern Africa, the new favorites, were ignoble savages. These peoples were often likened to children and their cultural stage equated to the childhood of the race. Given prevalent Enlightenment ideas about children, this connection was not intended positively. The philosophes of progress most admired the "advanced" peoples of Persia, India, and China, the sources for the famous *goût orientale* of the era.[46]

Despite their heightened interest in non-European cultures, the philosophes' scientific contributions to anthropology were strangely negligible. Their premises did not allow them to question the very concept of ranking societies, and one of the results was a superficiality in their research methods. Field work was of course out of the question for these paladins of salon life, so they had to rely on travel accounts. In the case of Island Caribs, the philosophes generally relied on secondary sources because they mistrusted on principle the missionary relations. Even Rochefort, no missionary, came under severe attack by the Prussian Cornelius De Pauw because he purportedly did not know Latin, Greek, or natural history.[47] So instead of consulting Du Tertre, Rochefort, and even the more "philosophical" Labat, most thinkers depended on Buffon and the collected voyages of the abbé Prévost.[48]

A second, less prevalent strain of Enlightenment anthropology admired the epoch "when wild in the woods the Noble Savage ran."[49] The belief in the superiority of peoples untainted by the wiles and superficialities of civilized life reaches back to the very dawn of civilization itself, but the modern version is connected to the growing secularization of European life at the end of the seventeenth century. Christian orthodox thinkers cannot adulate post-Adamic natural man, or even accept the historical reality of a "state of nature." It is instructive that most early examples of the noble savage idea come from the latter years of Louis XIV's France and from the England of the later Stuarts, an era of the elites' retreat from religious dogmatism. Witness an English poem on Caribbean aborigines:

> (in summe to say) they're all simplicity
> Almost like Adam, in's innocency
> Whatever Nature or their Appetite
> Does dictate, they do follow with delight,
> Not once with conscience check embittered
> Being by the law of nature only led.[50]

At the turn of the eighteenth century La Hontan's wise Adario sensationally popularized the sincere and sensible *sauvage,* while later Rousseau brought the issue to center stage. The debate over the noble-ignoble savage in the eighteenth century kept the Island Carib, if not on center stage, at least as a minor background figure.[51]

AMONG EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY writers who continued the comparatively sympathetic views of Island Caribs promoted by the Du Tertres and Rocheforts were the Frenchmen Labat, Lafitau, Rousseau, and Raynal. In many respects Jean-Baptiste Labat, a Dominican like Du Tertre but no missionary, more resembles seventeenth-century authors because of his firsthand observations of Island Carib life. In what was to be the last extended description of this decomposing culture, Labat painted an ambivalent but not unsympathetic portrait.[52] Critical of their torpor, which he links to their crab diet, and of their alcohol-driven vindictiveness, the author at one point rants about their "natural badness, inconstancy and indifference."[53] On the other hand, Labat insists that their infamous reputation as cannibals is unwarranted, and the rare past cases of man-eating he explains as vengeance "for injustices that the Europeans committed in chasing them from their lands."[54] Here the Dominican bridges Du Tertre's criticism of European conduct and the abbé Raynal's later systematic assaults on the inherent injustices of colonialism. The misogynist Labat can even condone the rabid male chauvinism of Caribs, calling practices such as wife-beating and even murder for infidelity "a little savage . . . but a method very proper to keep women at their duty."[55] He professes sympathy for these people even though unlike his seventeenth-century colleagues he denies the possibility of their conversion or civilization.[56] Labat's analysis is about the *sauvage* as *sauvage,* not as object of colonial and missionary interest. His volumes were important sources for Enlightenment perceptions of Island Caribs.

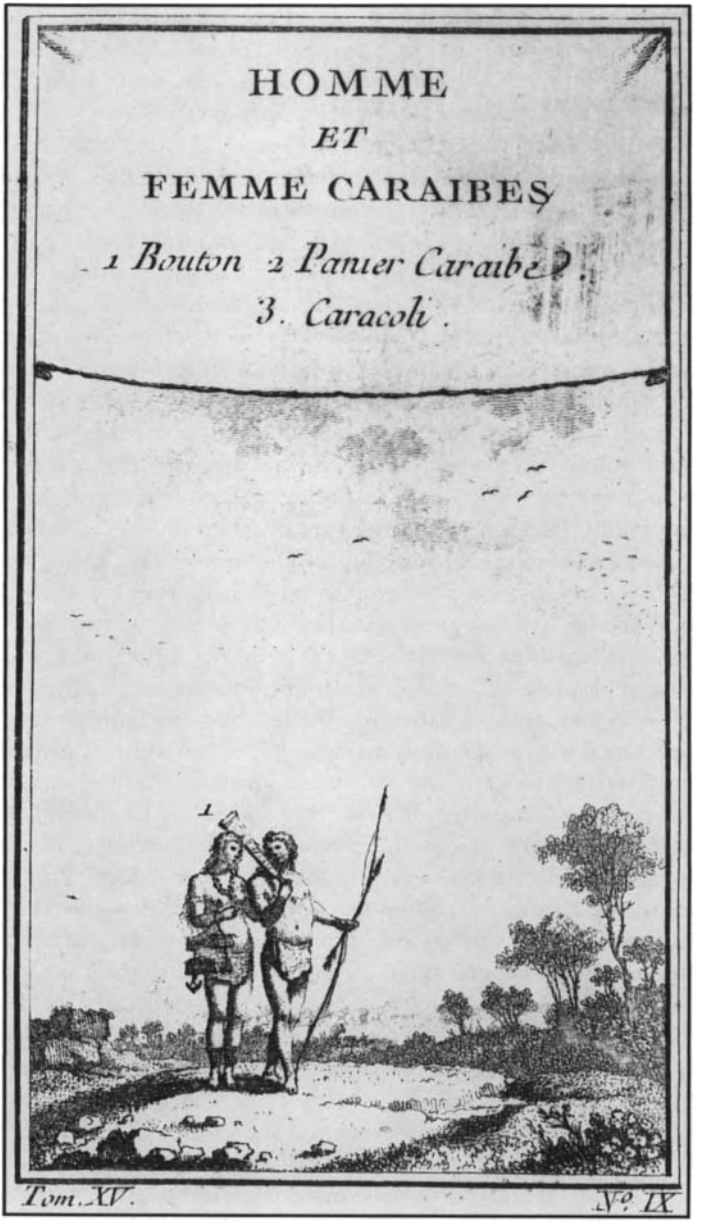
The renowned book of the Jesuit Joseph Lafitau uses Labat and all other important sources to incorporate customs of Caribs and "Brazilians" in his systematic comparisons of Amerindians to the venerable ancients.[57] Lafitau collates materials from the great French accounts to sustain his extended analogy and ipso facto to attack the ignoble savage hypothesis.[58] If the noble Greek and Roman cultures evolved from similar primitive beginnings, then the cause of contemporary Amerindians was far from hopeless. On the issue of cannibalism, which dominated sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of Tupinambas and Caribs, Lafitau notably eschews sensationalism. He does concur that all "the barbarous tribes of America are cannibals," but his single description of a man-eating feast concerns "Brazilians," a no longer à la mode group. The scant four pages devoted to the topic are written more in the scientific than in the tradi-

tionally sensationalist manner.[59] Of even greater significance, the Jesuit does not include a single cannibal scene in his plates, although presumably he had that option.[60] This restraint speaks volumes about Lafitau's commitment to an objective evaluation of Amerindians.[61]

In his multivolume *General History of Voyages,* the abbé Prévost uses the best French sources—Du Tertre, Rochefort, and especially Labat—to present his reader with a relatively sophisticated depiction of that "famous race of Indians," the Island Caribs.[62] He acknowledges the barbarousness of their religion and their customs, and he confirms their practice of eating male prisoners of war. Nevertheless, his impression of these aborigines is favorable.[63] Prévost applauds them for the valiant defense of their remaining island homelands. Contemporaneously with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the abbé affirmed that since Island Caribs did not have names for vices and virtues or for the arts and sciences, they did not have them in their culture. Theft and other crimes were extremely rare amongst them and merited savage punishment.[64] Prévost's Caribs are not noble savages, but neither are they ignoble heathen of hallowed tradition.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's controversial *Discourse on the Origins and Foundation of Inequality* offers a *soi-disant* innovative reappraisal of man's natural condition and of his subsequent social evolution.[65] Rousseau directly and explicitly challenges pessimistic analyses of man in a state of nature, especially that of Hobbes. Rousseau said: "In speaking of savages they depicted citizens"—that is, humans already afflicted with the egoism associated with developed forms of communal life.[66] Hobbes and company did not reach back far enough, to the time when man, in sharp contrast to the aggressive materialist portrayed in the *Leviathan,* lived without social and therefore moral intercourse with his fellows.[67] Wandering here and there in search of food, Rousseau's man "in a state of pure nature" was content. He was immune from the consequences of civilized life—overwork, disease, material possessiveness, and concern about the past or the future.[68] Contentedness not happiness, innocence not nobility, best characterizes Rousseau's animal-like man. Jean-Jacques acknowledges readily that *l'homme sauvage* was "dull and stupid" on account of his lack of language and, therefore, reason. However, the author refuses to accept the adjective "wretched" because that would constitute a "charge against nature."[69] Rousseau summarizes his view of natural man thus:

> Let us conclude that savage man, wandering about in the forests, without industry, without speech, without fixed residence, an equal stranger to war and every social tie, without any need of his fellows, as well as without any desire to hurt them . . . finds in himself all he wants.[70]



Picture of a Carib man and wife in a highly romanticized, rustic setting. From Abbé Antoine François Prévost, *Histoire générale des voyages . . .* (Paris, 1746–70), vol. 15.

Students of Rousseau divide into two camps on the question of whether his state of nature is a purely hypothetical construct. Those who argue that it is point to the author's own words:

> Let us begin to setting aside the facts, for they do not affect the question. The researches, in which we may engage on this occasion, are not to be taken for historical truths, but merely as hypothetical and conditional reasonings fitter to illustrate the nature of things, than to show their true origin.[71]

Nothing could seem clearer, except that Rousseau writes this immediately after obeisance to "sacred history," which shows that man had never lived in such a state of nature. Rousseau, it may plausibly be argued, was simply attempting to protect himself against the clerical authorities.

While Rousseau never claims to have historical facts to support his concept of man in a "state of *pure* nature," that is not the case for his hypothesis of a second stage of the natural state. Sometimes confusingly, Rousseau analyzes the evolutionary process by which *l'homme sauvage* slowly passes through intermediate stages to civilization.[72] During the second stage—the evolution of family and village life, the invention of tools and crafts, and the creation of religion—music and dance were the crucial factors. Man moves beyond a state of pure nature due to his characteristic trait of *perfectibilité,* the potential to use his mental faculties in a world of animals limited to instinctual behavior. Rousseau is careful to state that this transition from the state of pure nature was not inevitable because *l'homme sauvage* is complete and whole. However, because of historical "accidents," man the near animal became social and thus human.[73]

This second stage of the state of nature was the happiest in human history because man developed social affections without the affectations inherent in agricultural and metallurgical societies. "This condition is the real youth of the world, and that all ulterior improvements have been so many steps toward the decrepitness of the species."[74] Here Rousseau means the "improvements" in farming and mining that led to private property and its associated evils. Many American aborigines, according to Jean-Jacques, are or were in this second, most natural stage of society, one that allows man to perfect himself but without the formal laws and institutions that are the hallmarks of inequality in civilizations. These "Americans" even recognize the dangers and refuse the seductive charms of European civilization, whereas thousands of Europeans join them in a healthier, freer, and simpler life.[75]

Rousseau's reconstruction of the moral history of mankind was not impressively dependent on anthropological specifics, and his knowledge

of Amerindian cultures does not appear to have been wide or deep. In *Emile,* Rousseau claims to have devoured travel relations in his youth, but later came to conclude that they were replete with "lies and bad faith." No two ever agreed on the characteristics of a people.[76] In the *Discourse on the Origins,* he cites four specific Amerindian practices, three of which pertain to Island Caribs, who "have as yet least deviated from the state of nature."[77] These people exemplify natural man's lack of concern about the future, as demonstrated by the oft-told story of a Carib who sold his hammock in the morning only to beg tearfully for its return in the evening.[78] When discussing the sensible sexual customs of *l'homme sauvage,* Rousseau finds that Island Caribs least deviated from these admirable ways and "are to all intents and purposes the most peaceable in their amours, and the least subject to jealousy."[79] Rousseau's source here is perhaps Du Tertre, although the Dominican—along with Rochefort, La Borde, and Labat—insisted on the frequent violent treatment of Carib women.[80]

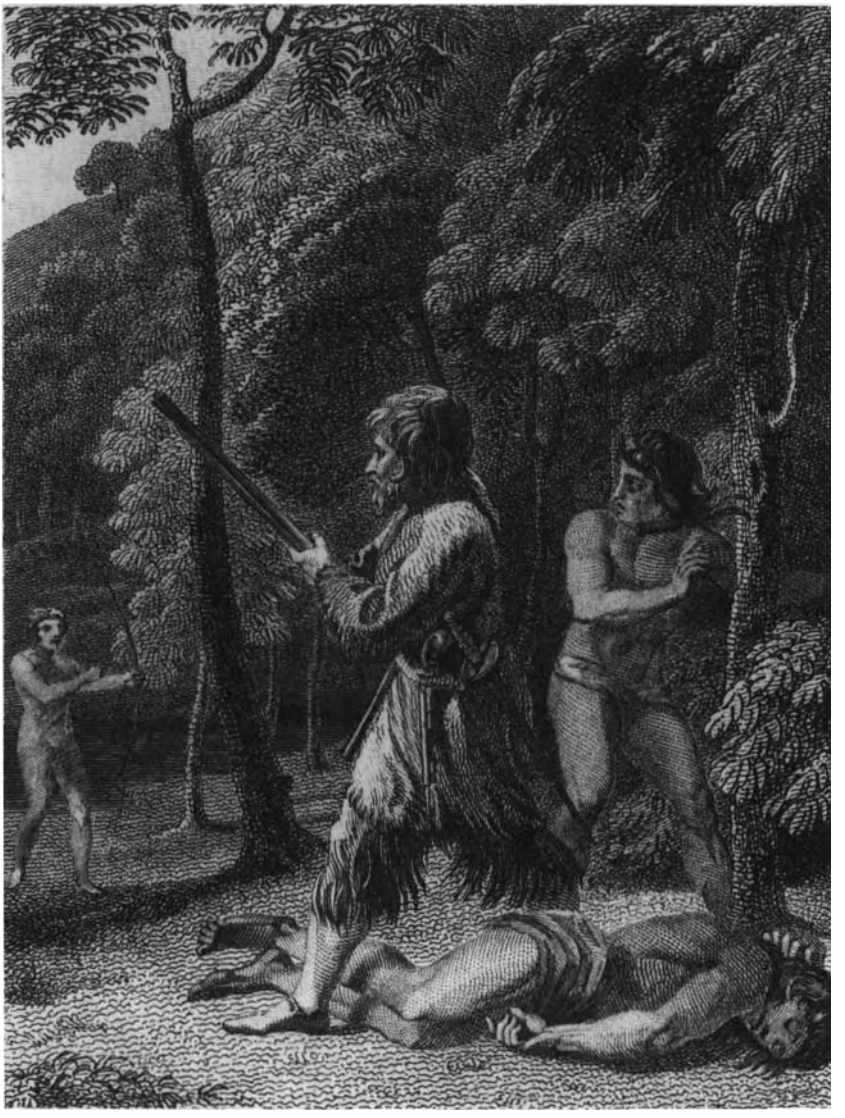
Perhaps Rousseau's distrust of travel accounts helped him rationalize his gleaning of select information from books that supported his a priori conclusions. In truth, Island Carib culture in historical times, characterized by agriculture, seasonally fixed habitations, and extended kinship relations, was so far removed from Rousseau's "pure" state of nature that it is only charitable to assume that he was thinking about the second stage of the state of nature. But even granted that, Rousseau's sources heavily emphasized the Carib cult of war. Far from being "strangers of war," these people had the reputation of being the most bellicose of Amerindians.[81] Putting aside, however, Jean-Jacques' selection and use of sources, his espousal of Du Tertre's "of their natural" passage about Island Caribs as "the most content, happiest" people, without the Dominican's many qualifications about their idolatry, cruelty, and vengeful spirit, constituted a transformation of philosophical and anthropological paradigms.[82]

The abbé Raynal's works provide instructive examples of the altered anthropological premises of one strain of late Enlightenment thought. For Raynal Island Caribs, these "children of nature," are "so ignorant" that they do not know unjust taxation, destruction of other peoples in order to steal their lands, unequal laws, and, in brief, all the vices of civilized life.[83] Instead, Caribs exhibit primitive virtues of honesty and charity. With Labat, the abbé links these aborigines' cruelties and crimes to alcohol and unjust European conduct.[84] The iniquitous usurpation of aboriginal lands by European conquistadors and the pollution of their culture by missionaries explain for Raynal any visible perversions of the natural simplicity and virtues of *sauvages* like Caribs.

AN ALTERNATIVE STRAIN of Enlightenment anthropology considered the Amerindians to be at the lowest stage of human social development. To

those thinkers who viewed "civilization" as the zenith of man's social evolution, primitive cultures like the Island Carib provoked either indifference or disdain.[85] The antiprimitivist views of the famous *Encyclopédie* demonstrate the pervasiveness of these attitudes. In general, the *sauvages* receive a most traditional and banal treatment. They live "without laws, without *police,* without religion . . . and fixed habitation." America is populated by these primitives, "the most part still ferocious and who eat human flesh."[86] The *Caribes* of the mainland are man-eaters and less honorable *(honnêtes)* than their noncannibal neighbors, the Caripous.[87] *Caribes* of the islands are well-built, dextrous bowmen who "eat their prisoners roasted and send morcels to their friends." These lazy and melancholic people live constantly in fear of malignant spirits.[88] Interestingly, the Tupinambas have all but disappeared from the *Encyclopédie's* view. Even a brief acquaintance with this famous work is a good antidote to the idea that the noble savage dominated eighteenth-century thought about Amerindians.

Major French philosophes explicitly and vituperatively attacked the Rousseauan vision of natural man in defense of their views of social progress. Voltaire, perhaps the most disdainful of Jean-Jacques' critics, assailed him for the assertion that man in the state of nature lived alone.[89] Voltaire did take an environmentalist approach to such savage practices as anthropophagy, which he attributed to their hard, miserable life, but his disgust at such customs is palpable. If he had few good words for even the civilized Aztecs and Incas, then his disdain for lesser "Americans" led Voltaire to compare them to the European savages, the peasants. In the *Essai sur les moeurs,* Voltaire dismisses such peoples as the Iroquois, Lapps, Hottentots, and Caribs by saying that their history is not worth writing.[90] More "scientific" and less venomous were the views of the influential naturalist Buffon. His well-known thesis attributed the purported degeneracy of New World animals and men to its less variegated and unfavorable climate.[91] Against the well-established tradition inaugurated by Acosta, Buffon scarcely considered the Incas and Aztecs in a different category than "cannibals."[92] Nevertheless, he condemned European brutality toward Amerindians and argued that a policy of *douceur* could slowly lead them along the road to civilization, an early version of the white man's burden. The state of savagery, neither one of innocence nor depravity, was simply the first stage of mankind beyond which he must progress.[93] Claude Helvétius generally follows this interpretation. Natural man suffers from the vices of torpor (here he repeats the anecdote about the Carib and his hammock) and cruelty.[94] The hands of *sauvages* are "sullied with blood" and men in nature are "destined to eat each other"—a one-upping of Thomas Hobbes.[95] Like Buffon, Helvétius attributes these vices to environmental considerations. For example, the ignorance, indolence,



Crusoe rescuing Friday from two "cannibal" pursuers. Engraving by Medland of a drawing by Stethard, published April 6, 1790, in Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Amazing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner* (London: John Stockdale, Piccadilly).
Note the European and classical features of Friday and the dead "cannibal."

and inertia of Africans and Caribs are linked to the fertility of their homelands and the resultant absence of challenge. For Helvétius, as for most philosophes, progress is the path away from savagery toward civilization.[96]

ALTHOUGH TO A lesser extent than French philosophes, eighteenth-century English thinkers pondered the role of the savage in human social development. As in France, the full range of concepts from the noble savage to various shades of the ignoble savage were present in England. Given the absence of primitivist ideas there prior to the Restoration, it is somewhat surprising that tributes to the noble savage emerged as an increasingly important if fanciful aspect of literature from the 1660s; indeed, two twentieth-century scholars have written large tomes demonstrating the pervasiveness of the concept. Just as it was in France, the Baron La Hontan's *Travels* was an important catalyst to English primitivist thought.[97] However, the subjects of this literature were not Caribs or other "cannibals" but the famous Incas and Aztecs, as well as England's erstwhile ally the Iroquois and other North American continental aborigines. Professors Bissell and Fairchild do not make a single mention of Island Caribs. This conspicuous absence of sympathetic portrayals of these people demonstrates the long-term limited impact of Davies-Rochefort's attempted rehabilitation.

Traditional antiprimitivist views of Amerindians, especially of cannibals, retained strength throughout the eighteenth century. The most famous if more sophisticated representative of this approach is Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. This enormously successful novel perceives Caribs through dark Puritan lenses. When after two decades cannibals invade his island sanctuary, Robinson Crusoe's worst fears during the immediate aftermath of the shipwreck reappear. Subsequent horrifying experiences with cannibals foster in him a vivid sense of the "degeneracy of human nature," of "nature entirely abandonned by heaven."[98] After his initial discovery of the human remains of a cannibal feast, Crusoe calls the Caribs "savage wretches," "monsters," "barbarians," and other assorted epithets. Their degeneracy was a result of their lack of divine grace and thus an inability to follow the laws of nature imprinted in their hearts.[99] Crusoe cannot grasp the purpose of Providence in allowing such inhumanity and brutality in his creatures. After much internal debate, he resolves not to attack them because they are so blind that they do not consider cannibalism a crime.[100] However, when these "wretches" are about to sacrifice a European prisoner, the hero and his ex-cannibal servant Friday slay the lot of them without pity. On the other hand, the fact that the comely Friday so quickly and wholeheartedly accepts the benefits of civilization and Christianity—indeed wishes to persuade his master to go

to the mainland to convert his "wild" nation—must have suggested to Defoe's readers (as it did to Crusoe) the possibility of this people's religious and social redemption.

Despite his reputation as a "realist" writer, Defoe subtly molds historical and ethnological materials to create a mythic setting for a simplified encounter between savagery and civilization.[101] He reveals enough of his knowledge of Island Carib culture to suggest that his often startling inaccuracies were not the result of ignorance but rather should be explained as either narrative imperatives or as a need for psychological simplification. It is well known that Defoe read extensively in the travel literature of the day and was especially interested in the Orinoco region from where the cannibals came, some forty miles south of Crusoe's island.[102] The author correctly identifies many aspects of Carib culture, from their abhorrence of salt to their method of making canoes; indeed he even calls them periaguas (pirogues).[103] Most importantly, Defoe puts in the mouth of Friday the most sophisticated *European* explanation of Carib cannibalism: the eating of their enemies as an act of revenge.[104] However, these knowledgeable observations are complemented by a number of misrepresentations and omissions. Undoubtedly, plot requirements explain such actions as Friday fleeing his captors (an unheard of act among Caribs) or the inability of one of his pursuers to swim! All travel relations remark about their amazing feats in the water.[105] As startling are the book's assertions that Caribs are unfamiliar with firearms or sails for their periaguas.[106] It may be true that the first Caribs to encounter European weapons in the early sixteenth century responded as Friday did;[107] however, by the 1680s, when the relevant episodes unfold, Caribs had long been acquainted with guns and even owned some. The book itself refers to the cannibals' earlier hostile confrontations with Spaniards; did the latter leave their muskets home? As for Friday's contented adaptation to heavy and restricting European clothing, contemporary travel relations speak of the Indians' disdain for such finery.[108] Finally, Defoe's depiction of Friday as exceedingly handsome does not mention the normal Carib practices of ear and lip plugs, flattened foreheads and noses, as well as scarification, all of which offended contemporary Europeans. A strange Carib indeed was Friday.

What renders these inaccuracies more disconcerting is that it is the "child" Friday who imparts to the reader some truths about Carib culture. His recounting of the story of the seventeen Spaniards saved and cared for by his people does not at first dissuade his master from assuming that those same people would "murther and devour" him if given the opportunity. Nor did Friday's explanations about the act of cannibalism in any way modify Crusoe's assumption that human meat is the essential item of the Carib diet.[109] Strangely, it is the European veteran Crusoe who imparts to Friday the means to live on their "desart" island. Friday learns to use guns,

iron tools, clothes and accepts goat, tortoise, cheese, and milk as a proper diet. Never once in the novel is Friday depicted as using his "native" skills. It is Crusoe who teaches the Carib to build a barbecue pit! Friday no longer feasts on crabs, prepares cassava cakes and *ouicou,* or uses the hunting and fishing techniques of his people. In contrast to the historical reality of initial European starvation in the islands and the colonists' forced adaptation of many Carib usages, the opposite occurs in the novel. How ironic then that Rousseau gives *Robinson Crusoe* to Emile as his first book!

It is not easy to draw final conclusions about this work and its impact. To say that Defoe was in no way obliged to render historical accuracy is quite irrelevant to the question of the book's impact on English and European images of "cannibals." The central figure, Crusoe, does epitomize well the unmitigated, almost unmitigatible, English horror at the supposed cannibalism of Caribs. Clearly, Crusoe's loathing of cannibals, strong already prior to any actual contact with them, is only minimally attenuated by the fact of Friday's conversion and the reports of humane Carib treatment of the Spaniards on the main. Although Defoe places in Friday's discourses with Robinson a more historically accurate version of Carib culture, it seems unlikely that these words would have overcome the readers' dismay at the numerous cannibal scenes so vividly experienced through Crusoe's paranoid vision.[110]

Defoe's novel elicited exuberant praise from the influential critic Samuel Johnson, who thoroughly shared Crusoe's horror of savagery.[111] A voracious reader of travel relations and thus like Defoe a representative of Georgian England's fascination with this genre, Johnson was least interested in the Americas, of all the world's regions, because of its savage peoples and rebellious colonists.[112] Unlike philosophes like Helvétius, who put forward environmentalist explanations of the backwardness of uncivilized peoples, Johnson explains American and all other forms of savagery in the traditional manner, that is, as a result of their degeneration from initial higher social and moral values. What lessons, then, could such human failures possibly provide? The overbearing Johnson argues that four-fifths of the world's peoples are savages! He contemptuously dismisses those like Rousseau, Montalboddo, and even occasionally his gadfly friend Boswell when they argue for the superiority of natural man.[113] Savages have "no bodily advantages beyond those of civilized men. They have not better health; and as to care or mental uneasiness, they are not above it [civilized life] but below it, like bears."[114] All of these claims, exceptional health and psychological contentedness, had become part of the canon of the noble savage. Contra Rousseau, Johnson denies that savages have any natural pity; indeed, they are "always cruel."[115] Any European who professes contentment to live among savages is only caught up in the animal sensuality of that existence. Refined conversation, the

hallmark of civilized life, is utterly absent in savage societies.[116] To be sure, Johnson does not single out Island Caribs or other "cannibals" for his venomous evaluations, because "one set of savages is like another."[117] But he does represent an interesting version of traditional English insularity and xenophobia—the patronizing and superficial interest in other societies anchored to an unshakeable belief in the superiority of European, and especially English, culture.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the English historian of the Caribbean Bryan Edwards presented a more balanced and nuanced analysis of savage life. He denounces those like Buffon, the historian William Robertson, and by implication Samuel Johnson, who dismissed all Amerindians without distinction as redemptionless beings. Using the best sources—Rochefort, Du Tertre, Labat—Edwards praises such Island Carib customs as hospitality to strangers and fidelity toward friends and relatives.[118] Obliged to discuss the many negative aspects of Carib life, the author suggests that "we could perhaps soften this dark picture" if Carib customs before contact with European vices could be known. An important aspect of this "dark picture" is the vaunted cannibalism of these peoples, which custom Edwards accepts as integral to their culture, in explicit rebuttal to Labat. As evidence for his view, Edwards relies on the early accounts of Columbus's experiences at Guadeloupe, and especially that of Martire.[119] Influenced by Enlightenment modes of explanation, Edwards relates Carib religious practices to a cultural environment in which physical phenomena like earthquakes defy explanation. In the end, he reaches a middle position between Hobbes and Rousseau on the condition of natural man. These simple peoples are "mild and merciful" when they leave the hands of the Creator, but the long-term environmentally influenced debasement of their natural mores led to their present execrable customs. But, unlike Johnson, Edwards believes that "civilization and science" could soften their "barbarous rites and gloomy superstitions."[120] With this substitution of "civilization and science" for the missionaries' civilization and Christianity, Edwards presages the nineteenth-century secular concept of the white man's burden. However, his description of Carib culture has a distinctly historical character because pitifully few "cannibals" remained to benefit from European "science and civilization."

In conclusion, the very few eighteenth-century English depictions of Island Carib culture share in different degrees traditionally negative perspectives. It cannot be argued that inadequate sources are the issue, because not only was Rochefort available but the educated classes read French. Defoe on occasion exhibits detailed knowledge of Carib customs and Oldmixon and Edwards cite all of the important French sources. Part of the explanation for persistently negative English images may relate to the Caribs' long-held positive attitude toward France and their supposed

hatred of all things British, even though such attitudes were of no strategic consequence in the eighteenth century. Perhaps it is more useful in the end to ask why a significant group of eighteenth-century French thinkers not only perpetuated the relatively sympathetic seventeenth-century portrayals of these "cannibals" long after any colonial or evangelical imperatives are evident, but even, as with Rousseau and Raynal, compared some aboriginal customs favorably to their "civilized" counterparts. Other than the somewhat mystical answer of the national character school, which would explain this persistent sympathy in terms of an undefinable French amiability, it is perhaps pertinent to recall the circumstances in which this primitivist strain of Gallic thought evolved. The Ronsards and Montaignes of the later sixteenth century possessed firsthand and therefore more humane information about Brazilian "cannibals," and in the context of their own miserable, war-torn age, these accounts led them to an appreciation of savage virtues. Once this literary tradition started, French authors always had available an alternative to powerful antiprimitivist stereotypes. Then, in the era of colonization, missionaries and some other authors felt a strong need to render human these fierce peoples. Who in France would otherwise provide support for a hopeless task? Who in France would consider emigration to lands inhabited by irredeemable savages? By the eighteenth century, French writers had a well-established canon of sympathetic approaches to *sauvages*. None of these factors pertained to eighteenth-century British authors, whose discourse about "cannibals" lacked a strong primitivist alternative.

Conclusion

THE TREATY OF Paris in 1763 gave the British control of the Neutral Islands: Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago. During the subseqent four decades, British settlers and authorities steadily reduced the French and Carib presence in these islands. The quite numerous French settlers (or, in British eyes, squatters) lost more economic and political privileges than their counterparts in formerly French Quebec, and thus many apparently left. No doubt the difference in treatment was connected to the desirability of the islanders' landholdings. The struggle to reduce Carib land claims and political autonomy provoked longer and sometimes violent resistance, especially on the part of the Black Caribs of St. Vincent. The "pure" or "Yellow" Caribs, who had not migrated south to the continent, were relatively untouched by the British presence at Dominica, and the conquerors implicitly recognized Carib rights to 232 acres of remote land on the wild windward northeast coast.[1] However, the remnant of one to two hundred at St. Vincent, whom the French had protected against the stronger Black Caribs, were caught up in the maelstrom of conflict between the British and the Black Caribs. At the conclusion of these struggles in 1805, the "Yellow" Caribs received pardons but were removed from their fertile southern lands to remote and infertile lands in the north of St. Vincent.[2]

The far more numerous Black Caribs of St. Vincent, whose numbers ranged from three thousand to eight thousand individuals, fiercely resisted British settler encroachment in two wars, 1772–73 and 1795–1804.[3] These Caribs fought the British to a near draw in 1773, then aided the French to capture the island in 1779. Rodney's defeat of De Grasse's French fleet at the crucial Battle of the Saints, however, reaffirmed the verdict of 1763. Subsequently, after a decade of relative peace, Black Caribs and British colonists resumed the struggle for land and autonomy within the stormy context of the French Revolution. The example of Toussaint L'Ouverture at Haiti, the French Convention's abolition of slavery in 1794, and the inflammatory rhetoric of Victor Hugues, the French tribune at Guadeloupe, resuscitated Black Carib resistance. Nevertheless, the French could not provide material assistance to match their revolutionary ideology, and Black Caribs were no match for massive British reenforcements arriving in the Caribbean under Ralph Abercromby in 1796. Pressed on all sides and nearly reduced to starvation, most Black Caribs accepted the British

demand of exile from their homeland. In this way they avoided annihilation as a people and a return to slavery, the avoidance of which had motivated their bitter resistance to all European colonial schemes for a century. Surviving the shocks of transportation to Central America, they have flourished there to this day.[4] The few remaining Black Caribs at St. Vincent remained in intermittent conflict until 1805. Like the "Yellow" Caribs, they were stripped of all legal rights to their lands and assigned marginal ones in the north.[5]

Small communities of Black and "Yellow" Caribs persisted at Dominica and St. Vincent after 1805. Very few "pure" Caribs remained by 1900, perhaps four or five at St. Vincent and rather more at Dominica.[6] At the latter island in 1903, the British set aside permanently some 3,700 acres of remote lands that constitute the Carib Reserve. There to this day some "pure" Caribs reside, although the vast majority of the some 1,500 who call themselves Caribs (or Karaphuna now) are clearly people of mixed color (*métis*). Their ancient languages had disappeared by the beginning of this century, but enterprising ethnographers and anthropologists like Douglas Taylor and C. J. M. R. Gullick have been able to connect come contemporary practices and beliefs to those of their Island Carib ancestors.[7]

Looking back at the first centuries of Euro-Carib encounters, a distinct pathos permeates those relations. Dubbed "cannibals" from the beginning, largely owing to European preconceptions and to fierce Carib resistance to conquistadors and slave traders, these aborigines had even less of a chance of cultural tolerance than most Amerindian groups. Even their bizarre (to Europeans) countenance worked against them. Yet Island Carib tenacity of resistance was at the same time the crucial factor in their relatively successful efforts to maintain cultural autonomy. The divisions among European colonists were another major factor enabling Island Caribs to affect the balance of power, at least until the 1670s. Evidence from contemporary European observers suggests a conscious Island Carib realpolitik in this respect. By 1700, however, European power had increased so markedly and the numbers of aborigines so declined as to remove the latter from any significant military role in the Lesser Antilles. During the eighteenth century Island Caribs could prevent neither Frenchmen from achieving de facto rule of Dominica nor Black Caribs from a dominant position at St. Vincent. The remnant of these peoples who had once so terrified and yet fascinated Europeans rapidly receded from the center stage.

Some similarities—but greater dissimilarities—characterized French and English policies and attitudes toward these aborigines in the centuries prior to 1763. During the "Heroic Age," colonists from both nations forcibly removed Caribs from many of the choice islands. But even during this period of struggle, French missionaries and *coureurs des îles* created ties

with Island Caribs that helped salve many wounds. Then, in the crucial 1670s, a secure and determined Colbert mandated a policy of *douceur,* which prevented attempted annexations of the reservation islands, while promoting French strategic and economic interests there through the mediations of missionaries, traders and "gifts." His chief goals were to achieve security for French possessions and to employ Island Caribs as auxiliaries to offset the numerical English advantage in the Lesser Antilles. Colbert possessed enough administrative authority to obtain obedience from colonial officials, especially since the latter could not invade Island Carib domains without metropolitan naval assistance. The government of Charles II, all too aware of the damage resulting from Carib raids during and after the 1666–67 war, attempted a similar policy of "informal empire." But it could not prevent enraged English colonists from launching retaliatory attacks and, indeed, could not even punish the perpetrators. Later English governments used gunboats and "gifts" to weaken French-Carib amity, but without much consequence. Fortunately for the English, the Island Carib threat sharply diminished after 1690, and the French received only marginal economic and strategic rewards for their efforts. Unfortunately for Island Caribs and to a lesser extent Black Caribs, traditional affinities with the French would exacerbate relations with the British after 1763. The latter, with some justification but with also much hysterical exaggeration, could not forget or forgive the long-standing French-Carib links.

The evolution of French relations with Island Caribs provided a context that allowed the cultivation of comparatively sympathetic images of these "cannibals" to compete with the ignoble savage canon derived from Columbus, Martire, and the Spanish chroniclers. Intense French ties with Tupinamba "cannibals," which found reflection in the works of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century French authors, eased the transition to a literary relationship with the purportedly most infamous "man-eaters" of all, the Island Caribs. Prior to the era of colonization, the apparently active and for the most part positive relationship of French corsair-merchants and Island Caribs, as best exemplified by the long visit of 1619–20, established links of familiarity between these two peoples. Then, in the period of conquest and colonization, which can only be characterized as brutal, missionaries anxious to support settlements in these islands and to secure monetary help from the pious at home fashioned a more humane picture of these aborigines. Although their more sympathetic explanations of strange Island Carib customs by no means eliminated reactions of horrified rejection, these authors provided French readers with materials they could use to question imbedded stereotypes.

Similar statements cannot be made about English relations with and perceptions of these "cannibals." Englishmen had far less experience than

the French with Amerindian groups, most notably with "cannibal" tribes, during the sixteenth century. Given the glories and social perceptions of the Elizabethan era, the great writers of that age could not accept their French counterparts' bitingly pessimistic appraisal of civilization. What meaning could Ronsard's characterization of his as an Age of Iron have for the Shakespeares and Spensers? Thus, the apparent bruteness and manifest primitiveness of these Amerindians blinded English authors to any real understanding of their virtues. Tupinambas, Island Caribs, and the like were lumped together at the bottom of the social ladder with "wild" Irishmen, Africans, and English vagabonds. In the first half of the seventeenth century, trite and stereotypical sources of information on Amerindians apparently satisfied the needs of metropolitan literary types. Few, if any, English colonists, and certainly no missionaries, penned accounts of Island Caribs that in any way challenged the ridiculous clichés of the cosmographers. Hobbes's pathetic ignorance of Amerindian cultures was one of the important intellectual results. Later in that century, due to Davies' translation of Rochefort and perhaps to the growing interest in voyage literature, English writers started to have better sources on Island Carib culture; yet, it can hardly be said that they, least of all John Locke, had a sympathetic approach, as did the Du Tertres and the Labats. Defoe's cannibals were entirely believable characters in this cultural context. In fact, no English author before Edwards demonstrated much sympathy for Island Caribs. His sentimental approach, of course, was perfectly appropriate for a period when all but a few Caribs had disappeared from their ancient island homelands. After attempted extermination, romanticization—an all too familiar sequence for historians of European-Amerindian relations.[8]

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Notes

Introduction

1. Bryan Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies,* 2 vols. (London: Stockdale, 1793), 2:391.
2. Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean* (London: Methuen, 1986).
3. C. S. S. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands under the Restoration, 1660–1688* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921); Vincent T. Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions to the West Indies and Guiana, 1623–1667* (London: Haklyut Society, 1925); Sir Alan Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 2nd ed. (London: Allen and Unwin, 1964); Arthur P. Newton, *Colonising Activities of the English Puritans: The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914), 85. An otherwise excellent contemporary work that suffers from the same failing is Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982).
4. Joseph Rennard, *Baas, Blénac ou les Antilles françaises au xvii^e siècle* (Fort de France, Martinique: Alexandre, 1935).
5. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands,* 35; Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions,* xv.
6. Patrick Baker, "Ethnogenesis: The Case of the Dominica Caribs," *America Indígena* 48 (1988): 388; C. J. M. R. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority* (Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1985), 25. Robert Myers has recently published two useful bibliographical works concerning the Island Caribs and the island of Dominica: *Amerindians of the Lesser Antilles: A Bibliography* (New Haven: Human Resources Area File, 1981); and *A Resource Guide to Dominica, 1493–1986,* 3 vols. (New Haven: Human Resources Area File, 1987). See also Louis Allaire, "On the Historicity of Carib Migrations in the Lesser Antilles," *American Antiquity* 45 (1981): 240–42; "A Reconstruction of Early Historical Island Carib Pottery," *Southeastern Archaeology* 3 (1985): 121–33.
7. Douglas Taylor, "Diachronic Note on the Carib Contribution to Island Carib," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 20 (1954): 28–33; Douglas Taylor and B. J. Hoff, "The Linguistic Repertory of the Island Carib in the Seventeenth Century: The Men's Language, a Carib Pidgin?" *International Journal of American Linguistics* 46 (1980): 301–12.
8. Taylor, "Diachronic Note," 28; Mary Helms, "The Indians of the Carib-

bean and Circum-Caribbean at the End of the Fifteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America,* vol. 1, *Colonial Latin America,* ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 37–59.

9. See especially Jalil Sued Badillo's influential *Los Caribes: Realidad o Fabula: Ensayo de Rectificacion Historica* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Editorial Antillana, 1978). He gives useful references to earlier critics of the traditionally hostile perceptions of Island Caribs; see 3.

10. Allaire, "On the Historicity of Carib Migrations," 238–39; "A Reconstruction of Island Carib Pottery," 121–38. He studies these issues at greater length in his 1977 Yale dissertation, "Later Prehistory in Martinique and the Island Caribs: Problems in Ethnic Identification." For a more detailed account of the various "origins" tales, see Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 25–37. With Sued Badillo, Gullick says that there is not enough archaeological evidence to verify these Carib traditions and indeed that it is possible "Caribs" were in fact Arawaks. See also Gullick's "Island Carib Traditions about Their Arrival in the Lesser Antilles," *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles,* ed. Ripley P. Bullen (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1980), 464–72.

11. Father Raymond Breton's manuscript writings, a crucial source for the traditional account of Carib origins, were edited by Joseph Rennard as *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe . . . d'après les Relations du R. P. Breton* (Paris: G. Ficker, 1929). Breton admitted that Caribs on other islands had differing traditions.

12. Allaire, "On the Historicity of Carib Migrations"; "A Reconstruction of Island Carib Pottery," 138; "Understanding Suazey" (forthcoming), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology.* Allaire convincingly rejects the thesis of Jalil Sued Badillo that there were no ethnic differences between the Island Caribs and the Taíno and that these distinctions were a pure European fabrication to enslave Amerindians; Allaire, "Some Comments on the Ethnic Identity of the Taino Carib Frontier," in *Ethnicity and Culture,* ed. Réginald Auger et al. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1987), 127.

13. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 25–38; "Island Carib Traditions," 464–72. The anonymous author of the manuscript published by Jean Pierre Moreau, *Un Flibustier français dans la mer des Antilles, 1618–1620* (Paris: Seghers, 1990), relates that Martiniquan Caribs claimed they were descendants of people chased from *Peru,* a generic term for mainland South America; see 182.

14. Gullick, "Island Carib Traditions," 469.

15. Douglas Taylor, "The Interpretation of Some Documentary Evidence on Carib Culture," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 5 (1949): 380–81. In this article Taylor criticizes Irving Rouse for his reliance on Rochefort. Allaire was a Rouse student. See Taylor and Hoff, "The Linguistic Reper-

tory," 301, n. 1, and 311–12, for their linkage of linguistic evidence and the traditional view of a Carib invasion of the Lesser Antilles. For Rouse's most recent views on the subject, see *Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring Population Movement from Cultural Remains* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), ch. 5.

16. Allaire, "On the Historicity of Carib Migrations," 61–62; "A Reconstruction of Island Carib Pottery," 121–22. Challenging Allaire's disconnection of Suazey pottery and Island Carib culture are Dave B. Davis and R. Christopher Goodwin, "Island Carib Origins: Evidence and Nonevidence," *American Antiquity* 55, no. 1 (1990): 37–38. They also doubt whether Kalina culture is the ancestor of Island Carib, suggesting instead that interactions and transculturation account for the cultural similarities.

17. Gullick, "Island Carib Traditions," 470.

18. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 61–64, 73–78; Allaire, "Some Comments on the Taino-Carib Frontier," 130.

19. Moreau, ed. *Un Flibustier français,* 163, 178–81. The best modern sources for Carib customs and practices are the works of Douglas Taylor, listed in the Bibliography, and Gullick, *Myths of a Minority.*

20. Maurice Barbotin, "Archaeologie caraïbe et chroniqueurs," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de la Guadeloupe* 15 (1971): 53. The well-known anthropologist Irving Rouse not only accepts the hoary accounts of cannibalism but uses phrases like "these fierce savages" and "Carib warriors savagely attacked"; Rouse, "The Caribs," in *Handbook of South American Indians,* ed. Julien Steward (New York: Cooper Square, 1963), 4:547–48. Taylor's "Interpretation" is a critique of Rouse.

21. William Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). For strong support of Arens's position, see Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 216–17, n. 154.

22. Neil Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism: The Historical Evidence," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 70 (1984): 69–87.

23. Robert Myers, "Island Carib Cannibalism," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids—New West India Guide* 58 (1984): 147–85. However, Gullick maintains that tales of cannibalism continued in Island Carib myths into the twentieth century; see *Myths of a Minority,* 178.

24. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 55. For the same conclusion, see Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 42, 59.

25. Baker, "Ethnogenesis," 394–95.

26. Bruce Trigger, "Early Native North American Responses to European Contact: Romantic versus Rationalistic Interpretations," *Journal of American History* 77 (1991): 1196.

27. For this phrase, see Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), 45.

28. Moreau, ed., *Un Flibustier français*. The author says that Caribs told him that they do not eat Europeans, because the latter are salt-eaters. He calls them cannibals because they consume their Indian enemies; however, only one was allegedly eaten during these ten months, in a ritual he does not claim to have seen; see 114, 186–89.

29. Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 51, 114; Stephen Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 2:562.

30. Girolamo Benzoni, *Histoire nouvelle du Nouveau monde . . .* (Geneva: Eustace Vignon, 1579), 192.

31. Pierre d'Avity, *Les états, empires . . . du monde* (Rouen: Cailloué, 1644), 319–20.

32. Among others, see the works of Gilbert Chinard and Geoffrey Atkinson. Any criticism of their assumptions and textual readings cannot obscure the fact that they revived interest in old, almost forgotten texts. An example of a recent adherent of their view is William Brandon, *New Worlds for Old: Reports from the New World and Their Effect on the Development of Social Thought in Europe, 1500–1800* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986).

33. Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 60–64. Karen Kupperman argues that a number of English authors used the word neutrally, or as simply another term for *Indian;* see *Settling with the Indians: The Meeting of English and Indian Cultures in America, 1580–1640* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Littlefield, 1980).

34. For a more extended critique of the noble savage mirage, see Philip Boucher, "The Caribbean and the Caribs in the Thought of Seventeenth Century French Colonial Propagandists: The Missionaries," *Proceedings of the French Colonial Historical Society*, ed. James Cooke, 4 (1979): 17–32.

35. For the appeal of this sexual connection to French colonial historians in the period 1870–1914, see Boucher, "The Search for France's Imperial Past," *French Colonial Studies* 2 (1979): 75–96.

36. Olive P. Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection: A Look at the Origins of French Techniques for Trading with Amerindians," *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-mer* 71 (1984): 129–46. For a different approach, which argues that Amerindian friendship for the French promoted trade instead of the reverse, see Kenneth Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euroamerican Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 19.

37. Cornelius Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976). James Axtell recently reemphasized the role of the missionaries in France's superior relationship with the Amerindians. His approach is balanced and convincing; see *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
38. For an example, see Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection," 140.

Chapter 1. First Impressions: Europeans and Island Caribs in the Precolonial Era, 1492–1623

1. Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes,* 36–39. This image would persist for five centuries, especially in Anglo-American literature. See, for example, Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 660, 674; *Admiral of the Ocean Sea* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1942), 407.
2. Richard B. Moore, "Carib 'Cannibalism': A Study in Anthropological Stereotyping," *Caribbean Studies* 13 (1973): 121–22. The Arawak word *carib* signified either "manioc eaters" or "valiant warrior." For the first meaning, see Douglas Taylor, "Carib, Caliban, Cannibal," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 24 (1958): 156–57.
3. Eric Williams, ed., *Documents of West Indian History, 1492–1655* (Port-of-Spain, Trinidad: P.N.M. Publishing, 1963), 48.
4. Peter Hulme, "Columbus and the Cannibals: A Study of Reports of Anthropophagy in the Journal of Christopher Columbus," *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* 4 (1978): 121; Christopher Columbus, *The Log of Christopher Columbus,* ed. Robert Fuson (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing, 1987), 138. It was common for Caribbean basin aborigines to ascribe anthropophagic practices to their neighbors; see Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes,* 74.
5. Hulme, "Columbus and the Cannibals," 130–31. See also Williams, ed., *Documents,* 50; Columbus, *The Log,* 172.
6. Baker, "Ethnogenesis," 380.
7. Ibid.; According to Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes,* 42, Columbus had witnessed in Cuba funerary practices that should have provided an explanatory context for these human remains.
8. Letter in Williams, ed., *Documents,* 51. The first Spaniard to die of an Island Carib poison arrow fell at St. Croix during Columbus's second expedition; Troy S. Floyd, *The Columbus Dynasty in the Caribbean, 1492–1526* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), 20.
9. Hulme, "Columbus and Cannibals," 133–34; see also Hulme, "Hurricanes in the Caribbees: The Constitution of the Discourse of English

Colonialism," in *Literature and Power in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature,* ed. Francis Baker et al. (Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1981), 64–65.

10. Williams, ed., *Documents,* 51.

11. Hulme, "Hurricanes," 67.

12. Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, *Extrait ou recueil des isles nouvellement trouvées* . . . (Paris: S. de Colines, 1532), 3–9, 23.

13. Williams, ed., *Documents,* 57.

14. Ibid., 62; Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes,* 77–78, 87. For the 1569 decree, see Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism," 73.

15. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 44. For the tragic Spanish impact on the Taíno, see Carl Sauer's admirable *The Early Spanish Main* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

16. As told to Father Raymond Breton, the first French missionary among the Dominica Caribs. His manuscript relations are printed in Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 48. The slave raids subsided gradually as the Spanish focus shifted from the Greater Antilles to the mainland; Sued Badillo, *Los Caribes,* 87.

17. Martire, *Extrait,* 4–9, 23, 69, 83, 105. Richard Eden's first English translation of part of the *Decades* may be consulted in Edward Arber, ed., *The First Three Books on America* (Edinburgh: Turnbull and Spears, 1885). An augmentation of Eden's translation appeared as *The history of travayle in the West and East Indies* . . . , trans. Richard Willes (London: Jugge, 1577). Finally, a complete translation reached readers in 1612 as *De novo orbe, or the historie of the West Indies* . . . , trans. Michael Lok (London: Adams, 1612). For further information on the spread of Martire's views throughout Europe, consult Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420–1620* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 344.

18. Joseph Boromé, "Spain and Dominica, 1493–1647," *Caribbean Quarterly* 12 (1966): 33. Although this chapter owes a great debt to Boromé's archival research, his work must be used carefully because he completely accepts his Spanish sources' hostility toward Caribs.

19. Ibid., 33–34. For these conflicts, see also Floyd, *The Columbus Dynasty,* 102, 105–6, 135; and Sauer, *The Early Spanish Main,* 180, 192–95. Sued Badillo is skeptical about the official reports of frequent Carib raids, calling them alarmist and self-serving.

20. Boromé, "Spain and Dominica," 36.

21. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 40–41.

22. For this phrase, see Giovanni Magini, *Histoire universelle des Indes* . . . (Douai: Fabri, 1605), 67.

23. Boromé, "Spain and Dominica," 37.

24. See, for example, Thomas Gage, *A new survey of the West India's: or the English American* . . . , 2nd ed. (London: Cotes, 1655), 17. For a more typical example of hostile encounters, see Samuel de Champlain, *Narrative of a Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico in the Years 1599–1602,* trans. Alice Wilmere (London: Haklyut Society, 1859), 6.

25. Taylor, "Diachronic Note," 29. According to Sued Badillo, Father Breton's famous French-Carib dictionary shows that 10 percent of aboriginal words were European-derived by the mid-seventeenth century; see *Los Caribes,* 93.

26. Gonzalo Fernándes de Oviedo y Valdés, *L'Histoire naturelle et générale des Indes* . . . , trans. Jean Poleur (Paris: M. de Vascosan, 1555), 42. Parts of Oviedo were translated into English by Eden; see Arber, ed., *The First Three Books on America.* Samuel Purchas later included parts of Oviedo in *Haklyutus posthumus or Purchas his pilgrimes,* 4 vols. (London: Fetherstone, 1625), 3:970–1000. Consult Sterling Stoudemire's introduction to Oviedo, *Natural History of the West Indies,* trans. Stoudemire (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), for biting criticism of Eden's and Purchas's translations.

27. Francisco Lopez dé Gomara, *L'histoire généralle des Indes occidentales* . . . , trans. Martin Fumée, 3rd ed. (Paris: Sonnius, 1605), 238–39. There were six French editions between 1569 and 1606. Only part of Gomara's writings were translated into English; see Gomara, *The pleasant historie of the conquest of the West Indies,* trans. Thomas Nicholas (London: T. Creede, 1596). For one example of Gomara's influence, see the negative appraisal of Caribs in Magini's *Histoire universelle des Indes,* 97.

28. For knowledge of the Aztec and Inca, readers could consult in English only Gomara's *Pleasant historie* of 1578 and 1596, one edition of José de Acosta's *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* . . . , trans. Edward Grimstone (London, 1604. Reprint [London: Haklyut Society, 1880]), and only parts of Garcia Lasso de la Vega in Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* vol. 4. The French had the complete Gomara and Lasso de la Vega (1631) as well as seven printings of the influential Acosta.

29. Margaret Hogden, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), 147–49.

30. Münster, in Arber, ed., *The First Three Books on America,* 29, 30. John Mandeville has his anthropophagi fattening children before eating them; Mandeville, *Mandeville's Travels,* ed. Maurice C. Seymour (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 138–39. Was this the inspiration of European views, perpetrated by Vespucci and Martire, that Brazilians and Caribs gelded and fattened young captives before eating them? Anthony Pagden asserts that there is a set type of cannibal feast in classical literature that influenced sixteenth-century accounts; Pagden, *The Fall of*

Natural Man, 216–17. He supports Arens's views on cannibalism by saying that he has never encountered a European description of Amerindian anthropophagy not indebted to classical sources.

31. Sebastian Münster, *La cosmographie universelle . . . augmentée . . . par François Belleforest . . .* (Paris: Chesneau, 1575), 301, 2071–73. For examples of negative views of other cosmographers, see Ch. Fontaine, *Les nouvelles et Antiques merveilles* (Paris: Le Noir, 1554), 5–6; Petrus Apianus, *Cosmographie, ou description . . . du monde . . .* (Antwerp: Bellere, 1581), 153, 157, 171.

32. A concept familiar to Columbus; see Williams, ed., *Documents,* 54.

33. See Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage,* 144, for the argument that the tawny (*basané*) flesh of Amerindians was usually considered a negative trait.

34. Benzoni, *Histoire nouvelle,* 191. Benzoni did partially excuse Caribs for barbecuing Spanish captives by noting that revenge, not hunger, motivated their actions; see 252, 259.

35. Bartolomé de las Casas, *History of the Indies,* trans. Andrée Collard (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 127. For translations of las Casas, see Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens (1603–1726): A Bibliographical Study* (Oxford: Dolphin, 1975), 70–71. For the ideological context of European translations, see William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971), 13–20; and Loren S. Pennington, "The Amerindian in English Promotional Literature," in *The Westward Enterprise,* ed. K. N. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 183.

36. Acosta, *Histoire naturelle et moralle des Indes . . .* , trans. Robert Regnault (Paris: Marc Orry, 1616), 209, 224, 275; Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History,* 2:427; Avity, *Les états, empires . . . du monde,* 18, 281. There were at least eleven French printings of Avity. In contrast, the sole English edition is Avity, *The estates, empires . . . of the world . . .* , trans. Edward Grimstone (London: Islip, 1615), 236–37, 252.

37. Part of Herrera's history, including this anecdote, is in Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* 14:451–53. The anti-Hispanic, anti-Catholic Purchas could not resist a quip in the margin: "Friar unwholesome food."

38. William Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of Native America," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:433. For an analysis of Theodore DeBry's powerful pictorial images, see Bernadette Bucher, *La sauvage aux seins pendants* (Paris: Hermann, 1977).

39. Jean Mocquet, *Voyages en Afrique, Asie, Indes Orientales et Occidentales . . .* (Rouen: Calloué, 1645), 83, 88–90, 100.

40. For an overview of this question, see Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection," 129–46; see also Edouard H. Gosselin, ed., *Documents authen-*

tiques . . . à l'histoire de la marine normande . . . (Rouen: Boissel, 1876), 142–45.

41. A French translation of Staden was published in the same year as the German original (1557). There was no English translation until Purchas published extracts in *Purchas his Pilgrimage . . .*, 3rd ed. (London: Fetherstone, 1617). Readers of Latin had access to Staden in DeBry's *Voyages*. For another example of a European feigning Frenchness, see Anthony Knivet's relation in Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* 16:219–33.

42. For the frequent pictorial representations of Brazilian "cannibals," see Sturtevant, "First Visual Images," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:417–54; see also Paul Hulton, "Images of the New World: Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues and John White," in *The Westward Enterprise,* ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, 197.

43. Ferdinand Denis, *Une fête Brésilienne celebrée à Rouen en 1550* (Paris: J. Techener, 1850). He also describes a similar *spectacle* at Bordeaux in 1556.

44. So much so that Sturtevant, "First Visual Images," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:420–21, considers the Tupinambas the best-known Amerindians in the sixteenth century except for the half-mythical Patagonians; see also Paul Gaffarel, *Histoire du Brésil français* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1879), 321–23.

45. Michel de Marolles, *Les mémoires de . . .* (Paris: A. de Sommaville, 1656–57), 28. François La Mothe Le Vayer, *Oeuvres . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris: Courbé, 1654), 2:808, asserts that "we have so many accounts of the Tupi."

46. Fracanzano da Montalboddo, *S'ensuit le Nouveau Monde . . .*, trans. Mathurin Redouer (Paris, 1515), 109, 113–14. There were six French printings. A study of four libraries in sixteenth-century Paris shows that two held only Vespucci on America and a third Vespucci and Martire; Roger Doucet, *Les bibliothèques parisiennes au xvi^e siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1956).

47. For examples, see Apianus, *Cosmographie;* Johannes Macer, *Les trois livres de l'histoire des Indes . . .* (Paris: Guillard, 1555), 77–79; Etienne Pasquier, *Les lettres . . .* (Lyons: Jean Veyrat, 1597), 83–84. Pasquier does caution his reader to be prudent about believing reports that are unverifiable.

48. Antonio Pigafetta, *Le voyage et navigation faict par les Espagnols* (Paris: S. de Colines, 1525), 3–6.

49. Johann von Staden, *Véritable histoire . . . d'un pays . . . dans le nouveau monde . . .* (Marbourg: Kolben, 1557), 116, 175.

50. André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France antarctique . . .* (Paris: La Porte, 1557). Arens argues that Thevet, who visited Brazil only briefly, based his cannibal scenes on Staden's work; Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth,* 29–30. However, Sturtevant notes that Thevet used eyewitness accounts as well as other books; Sturtevant, "First Visual Images of

America," in *First Images of America*, ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 435–37.

51. Thevet, *Les singularitez*, 86, 123, 125, 143–44, 195–205, 217. He has more detail in *La cosmographie* . . . (Paris: P. L'Huillier, 1575), for which he consulted interpreters. See Ch. André Julien, *Les Français en Amérique pendant la deuzième moitié du xvi^e siècle* (Paris: P.U.F., 1953), vii, viii. See also Frank Lestringant's introduction to André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique*, ed. Frank Lestringant (Paris: Maspero, 1983).

52. See Hackett's dedication to Thevet, *The New found World, or Antarctike* . . . (London: Henrie Bynneman, 1568). One French poet, praising *Les singularitez*, writes: "More than an inhuman Scythian you see (here in this book) the Canibale who on human meat and blood is glutted drunk"; quoted in Julien, *Les Français en Amérique*, 378.

53. Jean de Léry, *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, ed. Paul Gaffarel, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Lemerre, 1880), 228–30. There were six printings from 1578 to 1611, and fragments appeared in DeBry and Purchas. An anonymous sonnet, dedicated to Léry, reflects the book's puzzlement at who, European or Tupinamba, is the real savage. "If they [Tupinambas] knew, Léry, how without mercy we eat each other, they would fear that from here, we would quarrel with them over the title of savage"; cited in Roger Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique et les poètes français de la Renaissance* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1972), 124.

54. Léry, *Histoire*, 95, 271, 194, 280. For an example of a sympathetic description of the Tupinambas based on Léry, see Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Description de l'Amérique* . . . (Amsterdam: I. E. Cloppenburch, 1619), 35–46.

55. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Ronsard and the Age of Gold* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 27–30. For Ronsard's vagueness about America, see Geoffrey Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Froz, 1935), 314–15, 337. In his introduction and notes, Roger Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique*, asserts that Ronsard and other French poets had a superficial knowledge of America, emphasizing its spectacular riches and the brutality of its aborigines.

56. Montaigne saw Tupinambas at Rouen during the reign of Charles IX. Hogden claims that he read Léry (1578), but in another place asserts that "Of Cannibals" was probably composed in the first half of the 1570s; Hogden, *Early Anthropology*, 192. Montaigne proudly possessed a number of Tupi artifacts, including hammock and club.

57. Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *The Essays of Montaigne*, trans. John Florio, 3 vols. (London, 1892–93. Reprint [New York: AMS Press, 1967]), 1:222.

58. Ibid., 1:255–56; 1:224; 2:255. The cannibals, who Montaigne says had never heard of Aristotle or philosophy, "enjoy most happily, a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life."

59. For the originality and limits of Montaigne's anthropology, see Hogden, *Early Anthropology,* 191–92. Despite the scores of editions of the essays in seventeenth-century France and England, I have located only rare references to "Of Cannibals" in seventeenth-century literature. Such disciples of Montaigne as Pierre Charron and François La Mothe Le Vayer agreed with his relativistic approach to human culture, but they used references to the ancients; Charron, *De la sagesse,* 3 vols. (Paris: Barrois l'ainé, 1789), 1:98; La Mothe Le Vayer, *Quatres dialogues . . . d'Orasius Tubero* (Francfort: I. Sarius, 1606), 30–37. One early seventeenth-century French author, *citing* Montaigne, paints a dark picture of the Tupinambas; see Hogden, *Early Anthropology,* 197. See Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons,* 154, 356, for a few other references; see also Alan Boase, *The Fortunes of Montaigne: A History of the Essays in France, 1580–1689* (London: Methuen, 1935), 10–11, 399–400. Other than Shakespeare's famous lifting of a passage from "On Cannibals" (discussed below), there are few references to Montaigne's relativistic approach to the New World in seventeenth-century English literature.

60. Julien, *Les Français en Amérique,* 571–72, claims that the *truchements* were the catalysts of a more objective French evaluation of the Tupinambas. For a dissent, see Le Moine, ed., *L'Amérique,* 14, 15.

61. As an example of the tendency to evaluate useful Amerindians more positively, see Jacques Auguste de Thou, *Histoire universelle . . . ,* 16 vols. (London, 1734), 7:576–78, and 2:652. When de Thou, no admirer of Amerindians, discusses the Brazilian victims of the hated Villegaignon, he elects to substitute the more favorable *naturels* for *sauvages,* which he uses elsewhere.

62. The Villegaignon and Richer letters are published in Charles Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America,* 2 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1885), 1:334–35, 338. Nicholas Barre's views are cited in Gaffarel, *Les Français en Brésil,* 497–98.

63. The letter is published in Gaffarel, *Les Français en Brésil,* 493–501. These examples demonstrate that contact with the Tupinambas did not of itself result in sympathetic appraisals. See also Etienne Pasquier, *Escrits politiques,* ed. D. Thickett (Geneva: Droz, 1956), 83, who espouses negative views of "Brazilians" as a result of conversations with a traveler to that region.

64. Jean Bodin, *The six books of a Commonweale,* ed. Kenneth McRae (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 735, 64; *Les six livres de la République* (Geneva: Gamonet, 1629), 680, 682. In his earlier work, *Method for the easy comprehension of history,* trans. Beatrice Reynolds (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), 102, Bodin calls Brazilians "cannibals" and "bloodsuckers," a view based on Vespucci and Münster. Bodin's only other source for the *Method* was Columbus. For the later *Republic,* he may have read Spanish sources in French translation—for example, Oviedo and Gomara—but there are no specific references. For a severe

critique of Bodin's anthropological thought, see John H. Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers* 30 (1964): 4.

65. Cited in Atkinson, *Les nouveaux horizons,* 408. For Le Roy and La Popelinière as social theorists, see George Huppert, *The Idea of Perfect History: Historical Erudition and Historical Philosophy in Renaissance France* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 110, 150. La Popelinière so strongly believed that Amerindians held the key to understanding the condition of early man that he offered to undertake the difficult voyage to America to study them if the Estates of Holland would subsidize him. Nothing came of the offer.

66. Avity, *The estates,* 252; see also Avity, *Les états,* 61, 113–15.

67. Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History,* 2:410, 2:427; see also Acosta, *Histoire naturelle et moralle,* 209, 224, 275.

68. Claude d'Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission des pères Capucins . . .* (Paris: F. Huby, 1614), Preface.

69. Do not these substantial French experiences with the "Brazilians" and "Floridians" help explain their later commercial and colonial successes in Acadia and New France? This is also the view of Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection."

70. Arber, ed., *The First Three Books on America.* For an analysis of Eden's work, see Richard G. Cole, "Sixteenth Century Travel Books as a Source of European Attitudes toward Non-White and Non-Western Culture," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 116 (1972): 63.

71. Among others who have discussed this point, see Sydney Lee, *Elizabethans and Other Essays,* ed. F. S. Boas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), 217; Howard M. Jones, "The Image of the New World," in *Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays in Honor of George F. Reynolds,* ed. J. F. West (Boulder: Colorado University Press, 1945), 62–92; Jarvis Morse, *American Beginnings: Highlights and Sidelights of the Birth of the New World* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952); and John Parker, *Books to Build an Empire* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1965).

72. See Martire, *The History of Travayle,* 10–13, 137, 144–45, 149, for passages on Caribs. The editor Willes's marginal notes highlight the Italian's sensational discourses on "cannibals."

73. Besides the authors listed in note 71, see E.G.R. Taylor, *Late Tudor and Early Stuart Geography, 1583–1650* (London: Methuen, 1934); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480–1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder, 1530–1630* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); and David B. Quinn and A. N. Ryan, *England's Sea Empire, 1550–1642* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983).

74. Richard Haklyut, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation,* 12 vols. (London, 1598. Reprint [Glasgow: Maclehose and Sons, 1904–5]), 7:88, 7:149, 7:174, 7:165, 7:218; for negative views of Caribs, see 10:29, 10:207, 10:478, 7:383–84.

75. Sir Walter Ralegh, *The Discoverie of Guiana* (London, 1596. Reprint [Amsterdam: Da Capo Press, 1968]), 29, 35, 43; see also 151, where Ralegh remarks that the initially unfriendly Amerindians excused their hostility by asserting that the Spaniards had warned them that the English were man-eaters. Spaniards were old hands at this game. For Leigh's account, see Haklyut, *Principal Navigations,* 10:303–5.

76. Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History,* 2:410. It should be noted that there was only one edition in English, as compared to seven in French.

77. Avity, *The estates, empires . . . ,* 249, 258. Again, one English edition compared to eleven French.

78. Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* 3: book 5, ch. 1.

79. George Abbot, *A briefe description of the whole world . . .* (London: Sheares, 1634); on America, see 240–329. For Abbot's popularity, see Hogden, *Early Anthropology,* 200; Parker, *Books to Build an Empire,* 259; and Steele, *English Interpreters,* 21. Parker notes that Haklyut's work was not reprinted during all of the years of Abbot's popularity.

80. Abbot, *A briefe description,* 253, 263, 298–302.

81. Harry Levin, *The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969), 99; Lee, *Elizabethans and Other Essays,* 288.

82. Other than Lee, see Arthur Slavin, "The American Principle from More to Locke," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:146.

83. Roy H. Pearce, "Primitivistic Ideas in the *Faerie Queene,*" *Journal of English and German Philology* 64 (1945): 139–42, 150; see also Donald Cheyney, *Spenser's Image of Nature: Wild Man and the Shepherd in the "Faerie Queene"* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 104–14.

84. Almost alone, Margaret Hogden argues that Gonzalo's famous speech in act 2, scene 1, could have had other sources than Montaigne's essay "On Cannibals"; Hogden, "Montaigne and Shakespeare Again," *Huntingdon Library Quarterly* 16 (1952): 23–42.

85. "And of the Canibals that eat each other," from *Othello,* act 1, scene 3, *The Complete Works of Shakespeare,* ed. David Bevington, 3rd ed. (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman, 1980).

86. For the Patagonian connection, see Charles Frey, "The Tempest and the New World," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1979): 34; J. P. Brockbank links Caliban to *Caraïbe* sorcerers among the Brazilians in "The Tempest: Conventions of Art and Empire," in *Shakespeare's Later Comedies,* ed. D. J. Palmer (London: Penguin, 1971), 392–94; Hulme, in "Hurricanes

in the Caribbees," 69–70, suggests a composite portrait of mythical monsters joined to contemporary impressions of Carib cannibals. R. R. Cawley insists that Shakespeare did not wish to connect Caliban to any particular group; *Unpathed Waters: Studies in the Influence of the Voyages on Elizabethan Literature* (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 238–39.

87. According to Lee, in *Elizabethans and other Essays,* 291, organizers of amusements featuring Amerindians emphasized the "farcical" element. If so, that contrasts sharply with the experiences of the Tupinambas in Paris.

88. But contemporary authors, especially cosmographers like Münster, saw close links among primitive men, monstrous beings, baboons, etc. Even the skeptical Montaigne repeats stories about monstrous peoples, admittedly with the caution "if any credit may be given"; *Essays,* ed. Florio, 2:235.

89. Paul Jorgenson, "Shakespeare's Brave New World," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:86.

90. Steven Greenblatt, "Learning to Curse: Aspects of Linguistic Colonialism in the Sixteenth Century," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 2:568–76. Greenblatt's article is extremely interesting. In "An Apologie of Raymond Sebond," Montaigne notes that his contemporaries "impute their [Indians] mutenesse" to "stupiditie of beastliness"; *Essays,* ed. Florio, 2:163.

91. Paul Brown, "'This Thing of darkness I acknowledge mine': The Tempest and the Discourse of Colonialism," in *Political Shakespeare,* ed. Johnathan Dollimore (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 59. In *The Life of Henry the Eighth,* Shakespeare says: "Or have we some strange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women so besiege us?" (act 5, scene 4) To Elizabethans, venery characterized savages, Africans, wildmen, baboons, and all human-like beings beyond the pale of civilization.

92. Shakespeare had ties to influential figures in the Virginia Company. Charles M. Gayley, *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), 225–29. For the possible impact of the St. Lucia "massacre," see Hulme, "Hurricane in the Caribbees," 57.

93. In contrast to Abbot's popularity, there were but single printings of translations of Thevet, Léry, Acosta, and Avity. Nor did Montaigne's "Of Cannibals" have perceptible influence in England, despite the popularity of Florio's editions; certainly not on Francis Bacon, who lumps together all "Americans" as "simple and savage peoples"; Bacon, *New Atlantis,* ed. Robert M. Hutchins (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Brittanica, 1952), 30:205.

94. All critiques of *The Tempest* must take into account Hulme's Chapter 3, "Prospero and Caliban," in *Colonial Encounters.* His is an intelligent "post-colonial" reading in which Caliban's dignity and Prospero's duplicity

are justly highlighted. However, for my purposes, the old "colonial" readings that see Prospero as toting the white man's burden and Caliban as the monster he is described as by his master surely reflect the attitudes of Shakespeare's audiences and later seventeenth-century readers.

95. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder, and Settlement,* 281–82. He counts eighty-seven English voyages to the Caribbean from 1570 to 1603. Ralegh said that English ships passed in the vicinity of the "cannibals" of Dominica; *The Discovery of Guiana,* 22. In *Un Flibustier français,* J. P. Moreau cites Spanish archives to show that some French and English ships sold captured Island Caribs as slaves at Puerto Rico; see 303, n. 7.

96. For example, George Percy's account in *New American World,* ed. D. B. Quinn, 5:267–68. See also Jacques Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation à la Martinique: Un demi-siècle de formation, 1635–1685,* 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1980), 1:397, 445; Myers, "Ethnohistorical vs. Ecological Considerations," 326–30; Thomas Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies,* 3 vols. (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, 1827), 1:189–93; and Kenneth Andrews, ed., *English Privateering Voyages to the West Indies 1588–1595* . . . (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

97. See the account by John Nicholl, *An houre glass of Indian news* . . . (London: Butter, 1607).

98. See M. Giraud Mangin, "Une relation inédite d'un voyage en Floride en 1564," *Revue Renaissance* 13 (1902): 128–32.

99. For such examples, see Haklyut, *Principal Navigations,* 7:23, 7:166.

100. Boromé, "Spain and Dominica," 38.

101. Joyce Lorimer, "The English Contraband Tobacco Trade in Trinidad and Guiana, 1590–1617," in *The Westward Enterprise,* ed. K. R. Andrews, N. P. Canny, and P.E.H. Hair, 147.

102. Whitehead, "Carib Cannibalism," 73.

103. Cornelis Ch. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580–1680* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1971), 123–275.

104. The Spanish archives indicate that in the early seventeenth century, increasingly anxious Spanish officials planned to occupy the Carib islands because European arms made the aborigines so much more dangerous; see Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean,* 236.

105. Magini, *Histoire universelle,* 97.

106. Moreau, ed., *Un Flibustier français.*

107. Denis Henrion, *Cosmographie* . . . (Paris: D. Henrion, 1627), 897.

108. Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* 16:548. In his one-volume 1617 edition of *Purchas his Pilgrimage,* Purchas includes Léry on Tupinamba cannibalism, Martire on Caribs, and Hawkins's misadventure with "cannibals"; see 1036, 1084, 1085.

Chapter 2. Realpolitik Caribbean Style: Euro-Carib Relations during the European Invasion, 1623–1660

1. William Usselinx, Thomas Mun, and Antoine Montchrétien were typical mercantilist authors of this age. For Usselinx, see Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean,* 34–42; Montchrétien, *Traicté de l'oeconomie politique,* ed. Th. Funck-Brentano (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1889); and Mun, *England's Treasure by forrain Trade* (London: J. G., 1664).
2. For details, see Goslinga's helpful book, *The Dutch in the Caribbean.*
3. David Quinn views these years of war as crucial to the revival of England's overseas endeavors; see *England's Sea Empire,* 179–80.
4. For Richelieu's colonial policy, see Philip Boucher, *The Shaping of the French Colonial Empire: A Bio-Bibliography of the Careers of Richelieu, Fouquet, and Colbert* (New York: Garland, 1985), 4–7.
5. Bernard Schnapper, "A propos de la doctrine et de la politique coloniale au temps de Richelieu," *Revue d'histoire des colonies* 41 (1954): 314–28.
6. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean,* 89–115.
7. Ibid., 60–65.
8. Ibid.; Lorimer, "The English Contraband Tobacco Trade."
9. Baker, "Ethnogenesis," 384, 397.
10. Given by Henry Challons in Purchas, *Haklyutus posthumus,* 19:287.
11. Given by the Jesuit Jean Hallay in "La Martinique et les Antilles au xviie siècle, relation du P. Jean Hallay de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1657," ed. Albert Savine, *Nouvelle revue retrospective* 17 (1902): 73–95.
12. Joseph Boromé, "The French and Dominica, 1699–1763," *Jamaican Historical Review* 7 (1967): 12. Because Dominica does not contain extensive mangrove swamps, which are so favorable to shellfish collecting, scholars have debated the extent of its pre-Columbian and sixteenth-century populations. For a summary of this question, see Myers, "Ethnohistorical vs. Ecological Considerations: The Case of Dominica's Amerindians," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress for the Study of the Pre-Columbian Cultures of the Lesser Antilles,* ed. Ripley P. Bullen (Montreal: University of Montreal Press, 1978), 325–41; for the 1606 estimate, see 330. Allaire points out that Caribs at Martinique settled in the north, which is more favorable for agriculture and, because the mangrove swamps are located mainly in the south, less favorable for shellfish collecting. This point is certainly relevant to the Dominica debate; Allaire, "Understanding Suazey," 6.
13. The Carib population had declined to at most two thousand by 1700; see Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau voyage aux isles de l'Amérique . . . ,* 6 vols. (Paris: P. F. Giffart, 1722), 2:309. Other contemporaries gave lower estimates; see chapter 5 below.

14. For immensely valuable details about Carib agriculture and economy, see Douglas Taylor and Walter Hodge, "The Ethnobotany of the Island Carib of Dominica," *Webbia* 12 (1957): 513–644.
15. Moreau, ed., *Un Flibustier français,* 129. According to the author, the Caribs did so to avoid Spanish depredations.
16. Haklyut, *Principal Navigations,* 7:185; Maurice Barbotin, "Arawaks et Caraïbes à Marie-Galante," *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de la Guadeloupe* 11 (1969): 98–99.
17. Richard Ligon, *A true and exact history of the island of Barbados* . . . (London: H. Moseley, 1657), 23–24; Abbé Antoine François Prévost, *Histoire généralle de voyages* . . . , 19 vols. (Paris: Didot, 1746–70), 15:533.
18. John Ogilby, *America: being the latest, and most accurate description of the New World* (London: By the author, 1671), 373.
19. Taylor and Hodges, "Ethnobotany."
20. For example, Breton, in Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 71.
21. Of the many recent works that have discussed this point, see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (New York: Norton, 1976), 58–63.
22. Nicholl, *An hour glasse,* 5.
23. Ibid., 6–7.
24. Perhaps one can infer that much from Nicholl's remarks about the extreme jealousy of Caribs concerning their women; ibid., 8.
25. Ibid., 20.
26. Ibid., 23.
27. Moreau, ed., *Un Flibustier français,* 89–90.
28. Ibid., 96–97, 100.
29. Ibid., 101.
30. Gage, *A new survey of the West India's,* 17.
31. Ibid., 17–19.
32. Aucher Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner: Pioneer of the West Indies* (London: West India Committee, 1933), 21. For d'Esnambuc, see Jacques Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:43–44, 178–80. Such contemporary chroniclers as Du Tertre and Rochefort extravagantly praised d'Esnambuc for his leadership abilities and character.
33. The text is printed in Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner,* 28.
34. For Richelieu's maritime program, see Lucas A. Boiteux, *Richelieu: Grand Maître de la navigation et du commerce du France* (Paris: Ozanne, 1955).
35. However, that effort failed when the commander Cahuzac departed St.

Christopher prior to the arrival of the Spanish expedition sent to clear the island of the French and English.

36. The various official documents relevant to this company may be found most conveniently in Médéric Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions des colonies françaises de l'Amérique sous le vent . . .* , 6 vols. (Paris: Quillan, 1785–90), 1:18–23.

37. Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner,* 29.

38. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:18.

39. Guillaume de Vaumas, *L'Eveil missionaire de la France* (Lyons: Imprimerie Express, 1942), 197.

40. The best studies of French patterns of indentured servitude are those of Gabriel Debien; see especially his "Les engagés pour les Antilles," *Revue de l'histoire des colonies* 38 (1951): 1–280.

41. For the economic, religious, and psychological background of the massive English exodus to the New World between 1620 and 1640, see Carl Bridenbaugh's *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590–1642* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 394–476.

42. The population of New France was not more than five hundred in 1642, whereas the French islands had perhaps seven thousand. For a sound, recent analysis of France's difficulties in promoting emigration to Canada, see Peter Moogk, "Reluctant Exiles: Emigrants from France to Canada," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd ser., 46 (1989): 463–505.

43. The essential contemporary account is Jean-Baptiste Du Tertre's *Histoire générale des Antilles . . .* , 2 vols. (Paris: Jolly, 1667), 1:3–4. An earlier version of the work is *Histoire générale des isles de St. Christophe de la Guadeloupe . . .* (Paris: J. Langlois and E. Langlois, 1654). A four-volume edition followed in 1671 (Paris: Jolly, 1667–71). A modern printing of this last edition appeared in 1978 (Paris: Edition et diffusion de la culture antillaise, 1978).

44. Not an Indian lover, Sir Alan Burns considers the massacre a dark blemish on the English record; see *A History of the British West Indies,* 192. Richard Dunn caustically remarks that the "two nations 'solved' the Indian problem by staging a sneak night attack"; see *Sugar and Slaves,* 119. In his *La société d'habitation,* 1:55, Petitjean Roget wonders why the Caribs were so taken by surprise if indeed they were planning an attack.

45. Warner, *Sir Thomas Warner,* 58. What makes this story less than convincing is that Caribs rarely attacked at night; see Breton's comments in Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 69. One visitor to the English Leewards in 1631 could already say that the Caribs are "our deadliest and immortal enemies"; Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions,* 71.

46. For the colonial endeavors of Fouquet and his more famous son, Nicholas, see my "Reflections on the 'Crime' of Nicholas Foucquet: The

Foucquets and the French Colonial Empire, 1626–1661," *Revue française d'histoire d'Outre-mer* 72 (1985): 5–20.

47. Letter printed in Maurice de Lavigne Sainte-Suzanne, *La Martinique au premier siècle de la colonisation* (Nantes: Chantreau, 1935), 205.

48. Ibid. In fact, some forty men were sent to establish a fort at Dominica in 1635, but Indians pressured them to leave; Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:179.

49. See article two of its charter in Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:30.

50. Boromé, "Spain and Dominica," 37; Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 1:94–95.

51. Without citing evidence, Sidney Daney, who generally relies on Du Tertre, claims that d'Esnambuc worked hard for peace with Martiniquan Caribs. See *Histoire de la Martinique depuis la colonisation jusqu'en 1815,* 6 vols. (Fort Royal, Martinique: Ruelle, 1846), 1:24; see also Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* ch. 4.

52. Pelican's letter is in Michel Camus, "Au début des Français à la Guadeloupe: Lettre du P. Pelican au P. Carré (18 Aout, 1635)." *Bulletin de la Société d'histoire de la Guadeloupe* 52 (1982): 5–21.

53. Because of these terrible years, Guadeloupe may have had only about three hundred people in 1643. See Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:78–88, for an account of these crisis years, including acts of cannibalism; see also Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:398–401.

54. Archives Nationales, Fonds des Colonies, F^3 44, fol. 453 (hereafter A.N. Col. F^3 44, 453).

55. Ibid., 454.

56. Ibid.

57. See Breton's manuscript account in Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 100. The incapacitated de l'Olive remained the governor technically but resided under Poincy's protection at St. Christopher.

58. For Poincy's career, see Prosper Cultru's exhaustive "La colonisation d'autrefois: Le Commandeur Poincy à St. Christophe," *Revue d'histoire des colonies français* 3 (1915): 289–354; see also Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:183–93. Cultru denies that Poincy was in disgrace when accorded his island command, but cf. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 1:139.

59. For Poincy's letter, see Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:200–201. The site of Breton's mission was on the northeast windward coast, today called *vielle case.* Myers, "Ethnohistorical vs. Ecological Considerations," 331.

60. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 55, n. 24; see also John J. McCusker and Russell

R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 153–54.

61. According to the new charter of the Company of the Islands of America. See Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:51.

62. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:350–80.

63. Du Tertre, in *Histoire générale* (1671), 1:433, says four, while Labat, in *Nouveau voyage,* 4:457, says two Caribs were enslaved; see also B.N., Cinq Cents Colbert, 45, 436v. From that time on, Caribs identified European sailors by their vocal inflections rather than by their purported national flags; Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 40.

64. For these episodes, see Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 218–19; Harlow, ed., *Colonising Expeditions,* 114; Public Record Office, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1675–76, no. 861 (hereafter, C.S.P., 1675–76, no. 861), which is an account of the Caribbee Islands by Colonel Philip Warner, son of Sir Thomas.

65. One contemporary observer claimed that the French had learned a lesson from the Guadeloupe fiasco of 1636–40. John Davies [Charles de Rochefort], *The history of the Caribby islands* (London: J. Dring and J. Starkey, 1666), 19.

66. Gautier du Tronchy, *Journal de la campagne des isles de l'Amérique . . .* (Troyes: J. Le Febvre, 1709), 171.

67. Davies-Rochefort, *The history,* 184.

68. Ibid., 186.

69. L. G. Pelissier, "Une Mission à la Guadeloupe en 1644. Lettre de la mère de La Fayolle à M. de La Marguerie (Avril, 1644)," *La Correspondence historique et archaeologique* 7 (1899): 168.

70. According to a memoir of French commissioners about boundary disputes with Britain over St. Lucia, "the Caribs had up to that time [before 1660] the cunning to make peace either with the French or with the English, before undertaking an action against one of these nations"; *Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi et de ceux de sa Majesté Brittanique sur les possessions . . . en Amérique,* 4 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1755–57), 2:25.

71. For details, see Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 228–61. Willoughby's declaration of independence is in ibid., 773–74. For contemporary evidence of continuing Carib raids, see Davies-Rochefort, *The history,* 19; and Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 1:478.

72. Abbé Thomas G. F. Raynal, *Histoire philosophique . . . des Européens dans les deux Indes,* 6 vols. (Amsterdam, 1772–74), 5:78.

73. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 1:409–10. Contesting Du Tertre's claims that French and Caribs were amicable at first is the anonymous author of *L'Histoire de l'Isle de Grenade en Amérique,* ed. Jacques Petitjean

Roget (Montreal: University of Montreal Press, 1975), 16, 61–65; see also Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:401–2; 2:901–9.

74. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:433. For Du Parquet's high reputation among the chroniclers, see Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:181.

75. Moreau, ed., *Un Flibustier français,* 151–52; see also, Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 1:503–6, 507.

76. For this episode, see Pierre Pelleprat, *Relation des missions . . . dans les isles . . .* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1655), 69–79.

77. Barbotin, "Arawaks et Caraïbes," 104–6. He says that only Captain Le Baron's good will had allowed a French settlement at Marie Galante. According to a later report, the settlers chose a poorly defensible site for their fort. A.N., Département des fortifications des colonies (Aix-en-Provence), no. 100, carton 26, fol. 4 (hereafter A.N., D.F.C., 100, 26, 4).

78. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:466, calls this assault a Carib pretext for war.

79. Ibid., 1:463.

80. Ibid., 1:565.

81. Ibid., 1:464.

82. Ibid., 1:465.

83. Ibid., 1:498–99.

84. Petitjean Roget, *La société d'habitation,* 2:918.

85. A census of 1683 counted 61 individuals; Cabuzel A. Banbuck, *Histoire politique, économique et sociale de la Martinique sous l'ancien régime (1635–1789)* (Paris: Rivière, 1935), 286.

86. In the very first treaty (article 5) between French and English at St. Christopher, there was a provision for joint action against Caribs of other islands; Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1671), 1:18–20.

87. These two treaties may be found in the British Library, Egerton manuscripts (hereafter B. L. Egerton, m.s.) 2395, fol. 186–87; A.N. Col. C^8 B1, pièce 3; Archives des Affaires Etrangères (hereafter A.A.E.), Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, vol. 74; B.N., Nouvelles acquisitions françaises (hereafter B.N., N.A.F.), vol. 2558, 47–49.

88. Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands,* 124. The governor of St. Christopher apparently backed away from commitment to the treaty.

89. P.R.O., Colonial Office, 1, vol. 36, no. 52, fol. 107 (hereafter, C.O. 1, 36, no. 52, 107).

90. B.N., N.A.F., vol. 2558, fols. 47–49.

91. For examples, see Davies-Rochefort, *The history,* 19, 323, 424; Breton, in Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 69; and C.O. 29, 2, 7. For

examples of similar English misconduct toward Indians on the North American mainland, see Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 90–96.

92. Nathaniel Crouch, *The English Empire in America* . . . (London: Bell, 1685), 160. No one yet has adequately explained these remarkable military and linguistic talents of Frenchmen in the New World. For the *truchements* of Brazil, see Dickason, "The Brazilian Connection," 129–46. For the impact of mixed "marriages" on Canadian Amerindian relations, see Sylvia VanKirk, *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).

93. Labat, *Nouveau voyage*, 4:299–300.

94. Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe*, 108–9.

95. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 24.

96. The best exposition of the dissemination of colonial propaganda in England is in Bridenbaugh's *Vexed and Troubled Englishmen*, 394–433. There is no comparable study for France.

97. Samuel de Champlain, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France occidentale* (Paris: C. Collet, 1640); Marc Lescarbot, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* . . . (Paris: Jean Millot, 1609). There were many printings and editions of both of these works.

98. The first relation of Father Jacques Bouton has little to say about the missions and Caribs because the author returned to France after only months in the islands; Bouton, *Relation de l'établissement des François* . . . *en l'île de Martinique* . . . (Paris: Cramoisy, 1640). The second relation is that of Father Pierre Pelleprat, *Relation des missions*.

99. For a more detailed study of these missionaries, see my "The Caribbean and the Caribs in the Thought of Seventeenth Century French Colonial Propagandists: The Missionaries," *Proceedings of the French Colonial Historical Society*, ed. James Cooke, 4 (1979): 17–32. When modern anthropologists cite their sources for the study of Island Carib culture, the French missionaries Breton, Du Tertre, La Borde, Labat, and other French authors predominate. References to English sources are rare. See, for example, Sven Löven, *Origins of Tainan Culture, West Indies* (Göteborg, Sweden: Elanders Bokfryckeri Akfiebolag, 1935); see also the eight volumes of the *Proceedings of the International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures in the Lesser Antilles*.

100. Caribs were often compared to monkeys because they sat on their haunches at meals, because of their facility at climbing trees, and because they exposed their derrières to enemies. See, for example, Pelican's comments in Camus, "Au début des Français," 5–21; see also Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:79.

101. The first relation of Bouton was dedicated to the Company directors.

102. This was certainly the opinion of Father Breton, one of the few missionaries to live among Caribs; Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 112.

103. Ibid.; see also, Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 2:413–14.

104. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:3.

105. The Capuchin Pacifique de Provins boasts of sleeping among Caribs without danger; Pacifique, *Briève relation du voyage des îles de l'Amérique* (Paris: N. and Jean de La Coste, 1646), 18.

106. Rennard, ed., *Les Caraïbes. La Guadeloupe,* 44–48.

107. Antoine Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au xvii^e siècle* (Paris: Domat, 1948), 302.

108. Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au xvii^e et xviii^e siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1913), 48–49.

109. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1654), 396–400.

110. Ibid., 398–400.

111. Ibid., 422–29.

112. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:543; for his criticisms of French conduct see, for example, *Histoire générale* (1654), 3. Every Frenchman, he says, who "dipped his hands into the blood of these poor innocents" was later punished by God.

113. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 1:543.

114. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1654), 45.

115. He does not claim to have witnessed these cannibal practices (ibid., 450). Interestingly, although he was certainly hostile to Caribs, whose guerrilla tactics made his life precarious at Grenada in the 1650s, the probable author of the *L'Histoire de l'Isle de Grenade,* the Dominican Bresson, never used the word *cannibals.*

116. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1654), 466. How could Du Tertre know that the final struggle between the French and Island Caribs erupted in the very year in which these sentiments were published (1654)?

117. Joannes de Laet, *L'histoire du Nouveau monde* (Leyden: Esleviers, 1640), 27–32, 117–44; Vincent Le Blanc [Pierre Bergeron], *Les Voyages fameux . . .* (Paris: Clousier, 1648), 43, 44.

118. Guillaume Coppier, *Histoire et voyage des Indes Occidentales . . .* (Lyons: I. Huguetan, 1645), 57–59.

119. For the controversy about Rochefort, see Jacques de Dampierre, *Essai sur les sources de l'histoire des Antilles françaises, 1492–1664* (Paris: Picard and Son, 1904), 137–40.

120. Charles de Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles . . .* (Rotterdam: A. Leers, 1665), 442, 462.

121. Ibid., 461.

122. Ibid., 457. In other places, though, he speaks of the pitiful disorder of the corrupted nature of Caribs; see 557.

123. Ibid., 521, 371, 437–38.

124. Ibid., 283–88; but see 298 for French responsibility.

125. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1667), 2:413, 416, 501.

126. Pelleprat, *Relation des missions,* bk. 2: 75–79, 86.

127. Ibid., bk. 2: 76.

128. Ibid., bk. 1: 27–29.

129. André Chevillard, *Les desseins de . . . Richelieu pour l'Amérique* (Rennes: Durand, 1659), 13, 30, 32, 52, 91, 99, 115–17, 118, 171, 175, 177, 182, 185, 191. For the most part, Bresson blames the Caribs for these wars, although his manuscript account demonstrates clearly that the French were the protagonists; see Petitjean Roget, ed., *L'histoire de la Grenade,* 65–66, 97.

130. Gage, *A new survey of the West India's,* 17–19.

131. Ligon, *A true and exact history,* 23.

132. The curious reader who wishes to check this generalization about these writers should see William Castell, *A short discovery of the coasts . . . of America* (London: N.p., 1644), 41; Edmund Hickeringhill, *Jamaica viewed . . . ,* 2nd ed. (London: Williams, 1661), 55–65; N.N. gent., *America, or an Exact Description of the West Indies . . .* (London: Hodgkinsone, 1655), 458; Gardyner, *A Description of the New World,* 35–36; Samuel Clarke, *A geographical description of all the countries . . .* (London: Milbourn, 1671), 1:285. Clarke's superficial work underwent nine printings between 1657 and 1703.

133. Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmus: A Little Description of the Great World,* 7th ed. (Oxford: W. Turner, 1636), 771.

134. Heylyn, *Cosmographie in Four Books . . .* (London: Chetwind, 1662), 1092.

Chapter 3. Between Lion and Rooster: The Island Carib Struggle for Autonomy, 1660–1688

1. Gordon Jackson, "Trade and Shipping," in *The Restored Monarchy, 1660–1688,* ed. J. R. Jones (Totowa, New Jersey: Rowan and Littlefield, 1979), 143; Philip P. Boucher, "Comment se forme un ministre colonial: L'initiation de Colbert, 1651–1664," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 37 (1983): 431–51.

2. Stephen S. Webb, *1676: The End of American Independence* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

3. Archibald P. Thornton, *West-India Policy under the Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 38–39.
4. R. P. Bieber, "The British Plantation Councils of 1670–1674," *English Historical Review* 40 (1925): 93–94; E. E. Rich, "The First Earl of Shaftesbury's Colonial Policy," *Royal Historical Society Transactions*, 5th ser., 7 (1957): 62; Charles M. Andrews, *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622–1675* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1908).
5. Webb, *1676*.
6. C.S.P., 1661–68, no. 489, cited in Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, 289.
7. Andrews, *British Committees*, app. 2, 119, 109.
8. Boucher, "Comment se forme un ministre colonial."
9. Colbert best expressed the king's attitude when in congratulating a commander for his recapture of Cayenne (Guiana) from the Dutch, he ridiculed the enemy for boasting about the conquest of that outpost "despite the fact that it is in a remote corner of the world greatly neglected by His Majesty"; Jean-Baptiste Colbert, *Lettres, instructions et mémoires de Colbert*, ed. Pierre Clément, 7 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861–73), 3: bk. 2, 613.
10. Boucher, "Comment se forme un ministre colonial," 439–40.
11. For example, Jones, ed., *The Restored Monarchy*, introduction.
12. A.N. Col. F^3 44, 461.
13. Philip P. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances: France in America, 1500–1815, an Imperial Perspective* (Providence: John Carter Brown Library, 1989), 45–47.
14. Ibid.; Antoine Le Febvre de La Barre, *Description de la France équinoctiale . . .* (Paris: Ribou, 1666).
15. For his commission, which included St. Lucia as well as occupied islands like Martinique and Guadeloupe, see P.R.O. Colonial Office 29, vol. 1, fol. 17–21 (hereafter, C.O. 29, 1, 17–21).
16. C.S.P., 1661–68, no. 823.
17. C.O. 1, 17, 239.
18. A.N. Col. C^8 B1, pièce 10.
19. The Martiniquan Council did initiate work on the fortifications at St. Lucia; A.N. Col. F^3 26, 22.
20. C.O. 1, 65iii, 259.
21. C.S.P., 1661–68, no. 792. Du Tertre, in *Histoire générale* (1978), 3:123, estimated between 1,400 and 1,500 Barbadians.

22. For his commission, see Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 3:122–23.
23. Ibid., 3:120.
24. Ibid., 1:399.
25. Jean de Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les isles . . . de l'Amérique,* 2 vols. (Paris: Clousier, 1671), 1:128–29.
26. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 3:121. In a later conversation with a French priest about why he would not live with the English, Warner said simply that he could not live permanently with those people; A.N. Col. F^3 44, 467v.
27. If Clodoré, *Relation,* 1:130, can be believed.
28. A.N. Col. B^1, 65-65v.; A.A.E., Mémoirs et Documents, Amérique, vol. 5, fol. 64–67 (hereafter, A.A.E., Amérique, 5, 64–67).
29. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:119.
30. A.N. Col. F^3 44, 456.
31. A.A.E., Amérique, 5, 127.
32. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 3:127–28.
33. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 13.
34. A.N. Col., C^7 A1, 28.
35. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 30.
36. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 17.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. B.L., Egerton ms. 2395, 347.
40. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 17.
41. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1671), 4:11–12.
42. These events can be followed in volume four of Du Tertre, the *Relation* of Clodoré, or in a modern work largely based on these sources, Nellis M. Crouse, *The French Struggle for the West Indies, 1665–1713* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943). For the English perspective, see the books of Higham and Burns.
43. Sidney Daney, *Histoire de la Martinique,* 2:85.
44. A.N. Col., C^7 A1, 54.
45. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 4:92–94.
46. Ibid.; Father Beaumont, a veteran missionary at Dominica, recognized Warner on the English ship.
47. Ibid., 4:106.
48. Ibid.

49. Winthrop Papers, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections,* 5th ser. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1863), 8:257.
50. For other accounts of these events, see C.S.P. 1661–68, nos. 1347, 1390.
51. Du Tertre, *Histoire générale* (1978), 4:222–27.
52. C.O. 1, 21, no. 50, 92v.
53. C.O. 29, 1, no. 11, 34–36.
54. C.O. 29, 1, 58; for La Barre's and Willoughby's letters, see C.O. 1, 22, nos. 2i and 2ii.
55. C.O. 1, 22, no. 2ii, 4.
56. C.O. 1, 22, no. 32, 58.
57. C.O. 1, 22, no. 34, 64.
58. Ibid.
59. C.O. 1, 22, no. 55, 96. In the introduction to his *Relation,* Clodoré argues that the Caribs still hated the English but had yielded to intimidation.
60. C.O. 29, 1, 60v.
61. B.L. Egerton ms. 2395, 456.
62. Ibid.
63. C.O. 153, 1, 1–5.
64. For more information on this fascinating character, see Higham, *The Development of the Leeward Islands.* The author lionizes Stapleton and has only minor criticisms of his actions toward Caribs.
65. Clément, ed., *Lettres de Colbert,* 3: bk. 2, 406.
66. A.N. Col., B^2, 90.
67. A.N. Col., C^7 A1, 281; C^8 A1, 29v.
68. A.N. Col., B^2, 90–90v.; B^2, 41v., 114v.
69. A.N. Col., C^{10} B1, dossier 3.
70. A.N. Col., B^2, 78; B^2, 105v. Colbert well knew the likelihood of war with the Dutch.
71. A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 46v.
72. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 30.
73. Ibid. Were these warriors basseterre Caribs under Warner? The figure given by De Baas would appear to be close to the figure for all Dominican Carib bowmen!
74. Ibid. It is quite clear that the W.I.C. opposed all such plans because of the expense; see A.N. Col., C^{10} B1, dossier 3.
75. A.N. Col., C^7 A1, 281v.
76. Ibid., 367.

77. A.N. Col., B^1, 168–170v.; B^2, 19. Tracy, in whom Colbert had great trust, had strongly recommended Grenada to him.

78. A.N. Col., C^{10} B1, dossier 3.

79. Clément, ed., *Lettres de Colbert,* 3: bk. 2, 399, 491; 3: bk. 1, 431–32.

80. C.S.P., III, no. 1391; IV, no. 428; VI, no. 196.

81. A.N. Col., B^5, 29–29v.; Clément, ed., *Lettres de Colbert,* 3: bk. 1, 430–32. In 1673, Colbert wrote De Baas that there was "not enough time, not enough money, not enough troops" to undertake "various enterprises in the islands"; A.N. Col., B^5, 44v.

82. C.O. 31, 1, 195.

83. C.O. 1, 28, no. 12, 23.

84. C.O. 1, 29, no. 46, 115. I have encountered no other examples of Carib-speaking English colonists in the documents.

85. A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 183.

86. C.O. 1, 29, no. 17, 41; C.O. 1, 29, no. 17, 39; C.O. 1, 29, no. 66i, 176, 176v.

87. C.O. 1, 28, no. 58, 141. No doubt the silver mine was one reason for Willoughby's insistence that the Carib islands be placed under his titular authority.

88. C.O. 1, 29, no. 61, 161; A.N. Col. C^7 A2, 145.

89. C.O. 1, 28, no. 61, 30.

90. C.O. 1, 29, no. 57, 155v. He estimated that there was a total of fifteen hundred warriors, including six hundred people later called Black Caribs. If correct, Stapleton's guess would allow about six hundred bowmen at St. Vincent and only about three hundred at Dominica. Although they seem far too low, these estimates are interesting because of the already large percentage of Black Caribs.

91. C.O. 1, 31, no. 4, 6. Stapleton believed that Caribs had always been hostile to the English; C.O., 29, no. 2, 17. This thesis, of course, removed any blame from the English for the poor relationship with the "savages."

92. C.O. 1, 36, no. 6, 11–12v.

93. C.O. 1, 30, no. 40, 78. A copy of the commission is in C.O. 1, 30, no. 40 ii, 81v., 82.

94. C.O. 1, 30, no. 41iii.

95. C.O. 1, 30, no. 42, 90v. Colleton averred that the French would bother English searchers for the mine only if the latter were successful.

96. A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 281v.

97. A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 283.

98. Ibid., 294–95.

99. A.N. Col., B^6, 43v.–44.

100. Ibid., 11v.

101. In 1675 Louis wrote to De Baas that he was sending three well-armed ships to use against Caribs; A.N. Col., B^6, 33v. However, a letter of 1676 tends to indicate that the ships never arrived; see A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 419.

102. C.O. 1, 34, no. 6, 10.

103. C.O. 1, 34, no. 13, 20–20v.

104. C.O. 1, 34, no. 13i, 20–21v.

105. C.O. 324, 2, 61–62.

106. Ibid., 70–71.

107. C.O. 153, 2, 120–22.

108. C.O. 1, 135, no. 64i, 300–301. "Indian" Warner's English goods are not very persuasive evidence because his commission granted him provisions. It is impossible to say whether London ever dispatched the promised goods.

109. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52, 102. If true, this accusation is more serious than the previous one.

110. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52v, 102.

111. C.O. 1, 35, no. 63, 237; C.O. 1, 35, no. 64i, 301; C. O. 1, 35, no. 63i, 295–97; C.O. 1, 35, nos. 63ii, 63iii, 63iv.

112. The Dominican Father Labat even met "Indian" Warner's aged mother at Dominica in the 1690s; Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 4:299–300.

113. C.O. 1, 35, no. 64ii, 302–3.

114. For the murder charge, see C.O. 389, 13, 17.

115. C.O. 1, 35, no. 64, 299; C.O. 1, 35, no. 64i, 300–301; C.O. 1, 35, no. 64ii, 302.

116. B.L. Egerton ms. 2395, 533–53.

117. C.O. 1, 35, no. 65; B.L. Add. ms. 25120, 67.

118. C.O. 1, 36, no. 5, 10.

119. B.L. Add. ms. 25120, 67.

120. C.O. 1, 35, no. 64i, 301.

121. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52, 89; see also, C.O. 1, 36, nos. 52i, 52ii. For the council's reception of these documents, see C.O. 391, 1, 52v.

122. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52iii, 95.

123. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52iv, 100.

124. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52vi, 106.

125. C.O. 1, 36, no. 52iv, 101. Why didn't the Antiguans previously bring these accusations to the government's attention?

126. B.L. Add. ms. 25120, 68; C.O. 324, 2, 88.

127. C.O. 389, 3, 25v, 26.

128. B.L. Egerton ms. 2395, 499.

129. C.O. 1, 37, no. 56, 198.

130. C.O. 1, 38, no. 64, 151. Earlier Stapleton had reported that Hamlin had run away to the Dutch after stealing his employer's goods; C.O. 1, 36, no. 6, 15. Perhaps this is true, but certainly Hamlin must have been personna non grata at Antigua after his deposition.

131. C.O. 1, 37, no. 56, 198. For the record of the trial, see C.O. 1, 37, no. 56i.

132. C.O. 1, 37, no. 22i, 48.

133. C.O. 1, 37, no. 50, 176.

134. C.O. 153, 2, 195.

135. B.L. Add. ms. 25120, Coventry to Atkins, June 18, 1677.

136. C.O. 29, 2, 35. Atkins said that he could not give the council any estimate of Carib strength since they would have nothing to do with the English. Of course, this assertion confirmed Atkins's previous warnings, so perhaps some caution is called for.

137. C.O. 1, 37, no. 22i, 48.

138. A.N. Col., C^8 A1, 325.

139. Ibid., 417, 419.

140. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:300.

141. A.N. Col., C^{10} A1, dossier 1, memo from Chambré of the West India Company to Colbert.

142. A.N. Col., B^9 34 suite; C^{10} B1, dossier 4, pièce 132.

143. George L. Beer, *The Old Colonial System, 1660–1754,* 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1958), 1:120.

144. Arthur P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493–1688* (London: A. C. Black, 1933), 304.

145. Francis G. Davenport, *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies,* 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1917–37), 2:323.

146. A.N. Col., C^8 A2, 54v., 104–104v.

147. A.N. Col., B^9, 41v.

148. A.N. Col., C^8 A2, 194v.

149. A.N. Col., F^3 26, 186–86v.

150. A.N. Col., C^8 A2, 291.
151. A.N. Col., F^3 26, 185–86v.
152. A.N. Col., C^8 A2, 194–95v.
153. Ibid., 216v.–217.
154. A.N. Col., B^9, 7, 104v.
155. A.N. Col., C^8 A3, 159.
156. B.L. Add. ms. 15898, 46–47.
157. C.O. 1, 46, no. 75, 147.
158. C.O. 1, 47, no. 45, 13.
159. Ibid., 94v. The French had warned Stapleton of the forthcoming raid.
160. C.O. 1, 48, no. 29, 141–141v.
161. C.S.P. 1681–85, no. 357, quoted in Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 345.
162. C.O. 391, 3, 146–47.
163. C.O. 1, 48, no. 79, 257.
164. C.O. 1, 50, no. 67, 169.
165. C.S.P. 1681–88, no. 1126, cited in Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 346.
166. Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Loix et Constitutions,* 1:386.
167. C.O. 1, 51, no. 17, 30.
168. A.N. Col., C^8 A3, 241.
169. C.O. 1, 51, no. 17, 30v.
170. A.N. Col., C^8 A3, 241.
171. C.O. 1, 51, no. 17, 30.
172. For examples, see A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 17; C^8 A2, 268v; C^8 A3, 268v.
173. A.N. Col., B^{11}, 85; C^8 A4, 59v. For a different view, see C^{10} A1, dossier 1, Gabaret to Monseigneur.
174. The king replied affirmatively; A.N. Col., B^{13}, 54.
175. A.N. Col., C^8 A4, 105–105v.
176. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 63.
177. A.N. Col., B^{12}, 18.
178. Blénac in 1686 named Charles Ouaroman (Oualimont) as chief in Dominica on condition that he treat Father Philippe and the other French well; A.A.E., Amérique, 5, 386.
179. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 457; A.A.E., Mémoires et documents, Angleterre, 24, 159.

180. C.S.P. 1685–88, no. 603, cited in Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 354.

181. A.N. Col., C^8 A5, 8v.

182. A.N. Col., C^8 A4, 228v. For James's order to send the frigate to St. Lucia, see Leonard W. Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670–1776,* 2 vols. (New York: Octagon Books, 1967), 2:724.

183. C.O. 1, 58, no. 53, 162–162v.

184. A.A.E., Amérique, 5, 403. Temple warned Blénac not to permit their return; ibid., 411.

185. A.N. Col., F^3 55, 49–52.

186. A.A.E., Amérique, 5, 406. The intendant Du Maitz de Goimpy disagreed, arguing that such aid would backfire because the English would blame the French for any Carib pillaging. They view the Caribs as our puppets, the intendant noted; ibid., 412.

187. A.N. Col., B^{13}, 59.

188. For these documents, see C.O. 1, 63, nos. 65ii, 65iii, 65iv, 65vi, 65vii, 65viii; C.O. 260, 3, no. 1; A.N. Col., C^8 A4, 250v; C^8 B1, pièce 3; C^{10} C1, dossier 1; F^3 55, 1–17.

189. C.O. 153, 3, 246.

190. This point was in response to a memo found in C.O. 1, 60, no. 6, 17.

191. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 468.

192. Ibid., 469.

193. C.O. 1, 60, no. 93, 341.

194. A.N. Col., F^3 26, 201v. For Blénac's letter to Stede, see C.O. 1, 61, no. 38i, 222.

195. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 270.

196. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 3; C.O. 1, 72, 300.

197. A.N. Col., B^{13}, 59v., 66v.

198. A.N. Col., B^{12}, 18; B^{14}, 20v.

199. A.N. Col., C^8 A4, 321; C^8 A5, 309v.

200. C.O. 1, 62, no. 59, 289; C.O. 1, 61, no. 38, 220–220v; C.O. 1, 62, no. 52, 289; C.O. 1, 63, no. 65, 253.

201. A.N. Col., C^8 B1, pièce 98.

Chapter 4. "As if no such people existed": Island Caribs in Decline, 1689–1763

1. Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 199–200.

2. Ibid., 201–2.
3. Burns, *History of the British West Indies*, 461, 499; Michel Devèze, *Antilles, Guyanes, la mer des Caraïbes de 1492 à 1789* (Paris: S.E.D.E.S., 1977), 216, 252.
4. Robert Challes, *Journal d'un voyage fait aux Index orientales*, 2 vols., ed. Deloffre and Menemencioglu (Paris: Mercure de France, 1983), 2:246–48.
5. Ibid., 2:249.
6. C.S.P., 13, nos. 1689, 548.
7. A.N. Col., C^8 A6, 48, 154v.–55.
8. C.S.P., 14, no. 336.
9. John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America . . .*, 2 vols. (London: J. Nicholson, 1708), 2:172–73.
10. A.N. Col., C^8 A3, 268v.
11. Labat, *Nouveau voyage*, 4:309–10.
12. William Chetwood, ed., *The voyages . . . dangerous adventures . . . of Richard Falconer . . .*, 8 vols. (London: Chetwood, 1720), 3:159–61. Another Englishman in 1709 estimated 350–400 at Dominica; cited in Myers, "Ethnohistorical vs. Ecological Considerations," 331.
13. A.N. Col., C^8 A19, 72.
14. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 502, 516–516v; Myers, "Ethnohistorical vs. Ecological Considerations," 331.
15. A.N. Col., C^8 A3, 268v.
16. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority*, 43–48.
17. A.N. Col., C^8 A16, 124v., 125.
18. A.N. Col., C^8 A19, 72–73.
19. Sir William Young, *An Account of the Black Charaibs . . .* (London: Sewell, Cornhill, 1795), 17–18.
20. A rare exception was Father Armand de la Paix, who noted the impact of smallpox; cited in Taylor, "The Interpretation of Some Documentary Evidence on Carib Culture," 384.
21. Joseph Boromé, "The French and Dominica," 12. He asserts that there was a cave in Dominica containing mounds of bones of Carib suicide victims, but his source is unclear.
22. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority*, 52; A.N. Col., F^3 44, 516.
23. A.N. Col., C^8 A5, 250v.; C^8 B1, pièce 10.
24. Codrington and the Leewards planters, exhausted by these offensives, played no further role in the war; see George H. Guttridge, *The Colonial*

Policy of William III in America and the West Indies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 65.

25. A.N. Col., C^8 A7, 110.
26. A.N. Col., C^8 A5, 280. Blénac had left his post in late 1690 but agreed to return after his successor's sudden death.
27. C.S.P., 14, no. 1931 vi.
28. A.N. Col., C^8 A5, 20v., 309v.
29. Ibid., 350.
30. A.N. Col., C^8 A11, 22–22v.
31. A.N. Col., C^{10} D2, dossier 2, pièce 2; Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 2:24.
32. A.N. Col., C^8 A7, 293–94.
33. Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 2:55.
34. A.N. Col., $B^{14}2$, 66v.
35. The French fleets were concentrated in the waters off St. Domingue at the end of the War of the League of Augsburg.
36. William based his claims on the old Carlisle grant; C.O. 260, 3, no. 1.
37. C.S.P., 16, no. 70. Grey complained that he had only one battered cruiser to undertake these tasks.
38. C.S.P., 17, no. 775.
39. Ibid., no. 571.
40. Ibid., nos. 883, 939.
41. Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 4:312–13. The Barbados Council rewarded Frere with fifteen pounds for a Carib woman he had brought from Dominica.
42. Boromé, "The French and Dominica," 10–12.
43. C.S.P., 18, no. 304.
44. Ibid., nos. 536, 840iii. Louis XIV had lodged a stiff protest with William on this issue; A.N. Col., F^3 44, 479.
45. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 479; C^8 A13, 153; see also Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 4:312–13.
46. Young, *An Account of the Black Charaibs,* 10.
47. A.N. Col., F^3 17, 76.
48. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 480.
49. Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors,* 2:724–25.
50. C.S.P., 20, no. 863i; Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors,* 2:480–81.
51. C.S.P., 23, nos. 405, 406, 502, 693iii.

52. Ibid., nos. 1090, 1090vii.
53. C.S.P., 23, no. 1131.
54. Ibid., nos. 1167, 1194, 1725.
55. C.S.P., 24, nos. 396, 709.
56. Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 2:195; A.N. Col., C^8 A16, 274–75.
57. A.N. Col., C^8 A19, 72–73.
58. Ibid., 222; see also ibid., 336.
59. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 481.
60. Devèze, *Antilles, Guyanes,* 216; Arthur M. Wilson, *French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726–1743* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 303.
61. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances,* 71.
62. Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 461, 499, 510.
63. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves,* 87.
64. Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 454. Another estimate is 18,419 in 1762; Basil Williams, *The Whig Supremacy, 1714–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 313.
65. Devèze, *Antilles, Guyanes,* 251–52.
66. Boromé, "The French and Dominica," 13.
67. A.N. Col., F^2 A11, dossier 1.
68. C.O. 260, 3, no. 1.
69. Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 454–55.
70. Ibid., 454. Earlier in 1715 a British ship had ejected French loggers from there.
71. This action aroused much protest in London newspapers; see Jeremy Black, *British Foreign Policy in the Age of Walpole* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), 106.
72. Nathaniel Uring, *A Relation of the late intended settlement of . . . St. Lucia and St. Vincent . . .* (London: Peele, 1725), 27, 34, 82–84.
73. Boromé, "The French and Dominica," 14–15.
74. A.N., D.F.C., 117, no. 121.
75. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 486v., 487.
76. For the treaty and its background, see C.S.P., 34, no. 294; 35, nos. 93, 324, 408, 421, 532. For the evacuation orders, consult A.N. Col. F^3 44, 456v., 457; and Labaree, ed., *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors,* 2:724–25. The British governors were ordered to remove their squatters only in conjunction with similar French actions.

77. Boromé, "The French and Dominica," 16. A British estimate at the end of the Seven Years' War had two thousand French at Dominica; Lawrence H. Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution,* 14 vols. (Caldwell, Ind.: Caxton Printers, 1936–70), 5:216.

78. A.N. Col., F^3 44, 518v., 487v.

79. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 52.

80. Burns, *History of the British West Indies,* 485.

81. For these protracted negotiations, see Gipson, *The British Empire,* 5:298–338. *Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi,* vol. 2, concerns St. Lucia.

82. Gipson, *The British Empire,* 5:230. The British delegates had to rely on French maps for discussions about St. Lucia.

83. A contemporary British estimate had sixty families at Dominica; see Gipson, *The British Empire,* 5:216. This seems too high, but if it's correct my estimate would have to be revised upward.

84. Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial,* 2:391.

Chapter 5. Age of Iron to Age of Sentimentality: Island Caribs in the European Literary Imagination, 1660s–1760s

1. Davies-Rochefort, *The history,* 204–351.

2. Ibid., 271, 266, 327, 328–31, 332, 336.

3. John Churchill, ed., *A Collection of Voyages and Travels . . . ,* 4 vols. (London: Awnsham and Churchill, 1704), xi–xiii.

4. Davies-Rochefort, *The history,* dedication.

5. Ogilby, *America,* 356–61. This book is a translation of Montanus's *De Nieuwe . . . Weereld.* Caribs are called cannibals, but so are most Amerindians.

6. Crouch, *The English Empire in America,* 158–61. The some eight editions of this work also appear with Richard or Robert Burton as author.

7. Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America,* 232, 24.

8. Hans Sloane, *A Voyage to the islands . . . ,* 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1707), xxxii.

9. Vincent Le Blanc, *The World Surveyed . . . ,* trans. F. B. (London: Starkey, 1660); Mocquet, *Travels and Voyages . . . ,* trans. Nathaniel Pullen (London, 1696).

10. See the index to Thomas Hobbes, *The English Works,* ed. Sir William Molesworth, 11 vols. (Aalen, Germany: Scientia Verlag, 1966); for the view that America was of little importance to Hobbes, see Arthur Slavin, "The American Principle from More to Locke," in *First Images of America,* ed. Fredi Chiapelli, 1:151.

11. Among others, C. B. MacPherson promotes this view. See his "Introduction" to Hobbes, *Leviathan* (New York: Penguin English Library, 1981), and his *Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 16–20. For views similar to mine, see R. C. Simmons, "Savagery, Enlightenment, Opulence," An Inaugural Lecture, University of Birmingham, England 1989, 8; and Gordon Schochet, "Thomas Hobbes on the Family and the State of Nature," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (1967): 440.

12. Hobbes, *Leviathan,* ed. MacPherson, 186–87.

13. In a later passage in *Leviathan,* Hobbes does allow that Amerindians have some moral sense and a little arithmetical knowledge, but that they are hardly philosophers; *The English Works,* ed. Molesworth, 3:665.

14. For example, Milton has only one reference to Indians in *Paradise Lost.* They cannot hide their "guilt and shame . . . with feathered cincture, naked else and wilde among the trees on iles and woodie shores." This banal passage is cited in Benjamin H. Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), 164. Richard Ashcraft notes that although contemporary opponents of Hobbes attempted to discredit his use or misuse of American Indians, they did so without skill or success; Ashcraft, "Leviathan Triumphant: Thomas Hobbes and the Politics of Wild Men," in *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism,* ed. Edward Dudley and Maximilian Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 159–60.

15. John Harrison and Peter Laslett, *The Library of John Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 52.

16. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government,* ed. Thomas Cook (New York: Hafner Library of Classics, 1947), 12–46.

17. Among others on this point, see Herman Lebovics, "The Uses of America in Locke's *Second Treatise of Government,*" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 47 (1986): 576.

18. Sir John L. Myres, *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), 31. However, he praises Locke for his extensive anthropological knowledge as compared to that of his contemporaries.

19. Lebovics, "The Uses of America," 578.

20. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: Churchill, 1704), 18. In fact, Martire refers only to the children of captured "wives."

21. Ibid., 29.

22. Locke, *Two Treatises,* ed. Cook, 172.

23. What general maxims, he writes, are to be found "among children,

idiots, salvages, and the grossly illiterate?" (*An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* bk. 1, ch. 2, 2). He was willing to contrast favorably certain savage practices to European customs he detested. "The Indians, whom we call barbarous, observe much more decency and civility in conversation" (ibid., 30, 77).

24. I infer that Acosta and Avity directly or indirectly influenced him to employ this evolutionary approach; for a fuller treatment of this concept, see Ronald Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

25. Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* 31.

26. For example, see Richard H. Cox, *Locke on War and Peace* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), 71–81, 92–102.

27. I agree with Richard Ashcraft's contention that Locke's state of nature was not a moral fiction but intended as a moral and historical description; "Locke's State of Nature: Historical Fact or Moral Fiction?" *American Political Science Review* 62 (1968): 899.

28. Clodoré, *Relation,* 1:32, 38, 39, 144.

29. Sieur de La Borde, "Voyage qui contient une relation . . . des Caraïbes," in *Recueil de divers voyages . . .* , ed. Henri Justel (Paris: L. Billaine, 1674), 3, 5, 10–19, 27, 40. Also asserting that Caribs ate Englishmen was François Froger, *Relation d'un voyage . . . Brésil Cayenne et isles Antilles* (Paris: de Fer, 1698), 184.

30. Nor does America appear in popular literature. See Robert Mandrou, *De la culture populaire aux xvii^e^ et xviii^e^ siècles* (Paris: Stock, 1964), 66–67; and Geneviève Bollème, *La bibliothèque bleue: littérature populaire en France du xvii^e^ au xix^e^ siècles* (Paris: Juillard, 1971), and *Les almanachs populaires aux xvii^e^ et xviii^e^ siècles* (Paris: Mouton, 1969). The indices to Bollème's works have only one reference to America.

31. Philip Wadsworth, *The Novels of Gomberville: A Critical Study of Polexandre and Cytherée* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 69–71. As in England, but somewhat earlier, a minor French cult of the Inca was inspired by publication of Lasso de La Vega's book.

32. La Borde, *Voyage,* 17.

33. Jean de La Bruyère, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. Julien Benda (Paris: Gallimard, 1962), 389.

34. Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Plèiade, 1966), 257–60.

35. Isaac de Benserade, *Les oeuvres,* 2 vols. (Paris: Charles de Sercy, 1697), 2:180, 348, 403, 418; see also Marcel Paquot, *Les étrangers dans les divertissements de la cour* (Brussels: La Renaissance du livre, 1933), 47.

36. Jean de La Fontaine, *Oeuvres diverses,* ed. Pierre Clarac (Paris: Bibliothèque de la Plèiade, 1962), 64.

37. Gédeon Tallément des Réaux, *Les historiettes de . . .* , ed. M. Monmerque, 6 vols. (Paris: Techener, 1862), 3:735, 2:660.

38. Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (The Hague: A. and R. Leers, 1690), under the rubric *sauvage*.

39. "Description de St. Christophe," in *Recueil de divers voyages . . .* , ed. Henri Justel, 53.

40. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage,* 41.

41. Pierre Du Val d'Abbeville, *Mémoires géographiques de tous les pays . . .* (Lyons: Certes, 1674), 12, 15, 66; other editions appeared in 1676, 1686, and 1692.

42. Allain Maillet, *Description de l'univers . . .* , 5 vols. (Paris: Thierry, 1683), 1:323.

43. The classic analysis is that of Paul Hazard, *The European Mind: The Critical Years (1680–1715)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

44. The important book of Michele Duchet claims that the philosophes did not much discuss Caribs; Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire au siècle des Lumières* (Paris: Maspero, 1971), 37. For the eighteenth century, see also the works of Chinard and Gerbi, as well as Hoxie N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1961); and Peter J. Marshall and Glyndwr Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind: Perceptions of New Worlds in the Age of Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), ch. 7.

45. Sir Matthew Hale, *The primitive origination of mankind* (London: Godbid, 1677), 159.

46. For example, Montesquieu in his *Spirit of the Laws;* in contrast, he makes few references to America. His sources for the New World—Acosta, Herrera, Lasso de La Vega, Solis y Ribadaneyra—focus on the "high" cultures of the Aztec and Inca. See Louis Desgraves, ed., *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu* (Geneva: Droz, 1954); and Muriel Dodds, *Les récits de voyages: Sources de "l'Esprit des lois" de Montesquieu* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1980), ch. 7.

47. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 100. Not only were the preceding century's relations infrequently cited, they were more than once referred to inaccurately. For example, Buffon mistakenly cites Du Tertre instead of Rochefort for the supposed Appalachian origins of Caribs. Duchet (37) does not catch the error.

48. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 339–40.

49. John Dryden, "The Conquest of Grenada by the Spaniards," in *Dramatic Works,* ed. Montague Summers, 6 vols. (New York: Gordian Press, 1968), 3:34.

50. Hickeringhill, *Jamaica Viewed,* 63.

51. In addition to the sources cited in note 44, see Donald G. Charlton, *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

52. As usual, Chinard discovers only the *bon sauvage* in Labat's writings; see *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 352.

53. Labat, *Nouveau voyage,* 2:25–27.

54. Ibid., 4:321–25.

55. Ibid., 4:327.

56. Ibid., 4:333, 368.

57. According to William Fenton, Lafitau cites Thevet and Du Tertre fourteen times, Léry thirteen, and Rochefort seven; Joseph F. Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times,* ed. William Fenton and Elizabeth Moore, 2 vols. (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1974), introduction.

58. Ibid., 1:28.

59. Ibid., 2:168–71.

60. Plate xiv of vol. 2 does depict a Brazilian scene in which a to-be-eaten prisoner is about to be clubbed to death.

61. Lafitau influenced the work of his fellow Jesuit, the less-speculative historian Pierre Charlevoix. In a rare reference to Caribs, Charlevoix describes them as "the peoples of the world the most simple, the most kind, the most human . . . they know nothing nor do they wish to know anything"; cited in Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 352.

62. Prévost, *Histoire générale des voyages,* vol. 15.

63. Ibid., 15:483.

64. Ibid., 15:474.

65. According to Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 99, Rousseau distrusted seventeenth-century travelers and relied on Buffon and Prévost. Chinard says that Coréal, Buffon, Lafitau, and Charlevoix influenced Rousseau (*L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 350); see also G. Pire, "Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les relations de voyage," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 56 (1956): 355–78.

66. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse on the Origin of Inequality,* ed. Lester Crocker (New York: Washington Square Press, 1973), 176, 219.

67. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 240, 301. Voltaire, Buffon, and others severely attacked Rousseau on this point.

68. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 190–200. Caribs were usually described as not caring about the past or future and as non-thinking (e.g., Lafitau, *Customs,* ed. Fenton and Moore, 2:21).

69. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 208.

70. Ibid., 207–8. "For the natural man happiness is as simple as his life: it consists in the absence of pain; health, freedom, the necessaries of life are its elements" (Rousseau, *Emile,* trans. Barbara Foxley [London: Dent, 1957], 140).

71. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 177; see also a similar statement on 169.

72. A sound guide to Rousseau's sometimes confusing analysis is Arthur O. Lovejoy, "The Supposed Primitivism of Rousseau's 'Discourse on Inequality,'" in his *Essays in the History of Ideas* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1948), 14–38.

73. Marc F. Plattner, *Rousseau's State of Nature: An Interpretation of the Discourse on Inequality* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1979), 51.

74. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 220.

75. "Everyone knows that the learned societies of Europe are mere schools of falsehood, and there are assuredly more mistaken notions in the Academy of Sciences than in a whole tribe of American Indians" (Rousseau, *Emile,* 167).

76. Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 347–49. Chinard accuses Rousseau of concealing his sources—the missionary accounts and especially the Jesuit Relations—to give himself the air of being an original thinker.

77. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 206, 243. He never mentions the sixteenth-century *sauvages* par excellence, the Tupinambas, nor do the Huron and Iroquois appear in the *Discourse.* The fourth explicit reference to Amerindians is to an Orinoco group quite similar to the Island Caribs. In *Emile,* Rousseau refers directly to only one Amerindian group, the Caribs, whom he praises for their custom of leaving infants free to move about (10).

78. Rousseau, *The Social Contract and Discourse,* 190.

79. Ibid., 206.

80. Rousseau certainly knew Du Tertre's work; Rousseau, *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (Amsterdam: M. M. Rey, 1755–61), 200. The eighteenth-century editions include the extensive footnotes excised from modern editions. Pire argues that despite this single reference to Du Tertre, Rousseau heavily relied on him; "Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les relations de voyage," 359, 362, 363, 367–70, 374–75.

81. Chinard does not discuss these issues and somehow confuses Island Caribs with the Taíno Arawak.

82. For a different reading and conclusions, see Fairchild, *The Noble Savage,* 120–39.

83. Raynal, *Histoire philosophique,* 5:262–63, 2:21–23.

84. Ibid., 5:74, 2:28; see Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 37, for some of Raynal's sources.

85. For the Enlightenment development of social evolutionary theories see, among others, Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire;* Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage;* and Hogden, *Early Anthropology.* For a specific example concerning Caribs, see Jean-Baptiste Thibault de Chanvalon, *Voyage à la Martinique* (Paris: J. B. Bauche, 1763), 45, 66.

86. Denis Diderot and M. D'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences . . . ,* 3rd ed. (Geneva: Pellet, 1767), 30:188.

87. Ibid., 6:341.

88. Ibid., 6:299–300.

89. For Voltaire, see Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique,* 366–74; see also Jean David, "Voltaire et les Indiens d'Amérique," *Modern Language Quarterly* 9 (1948): 90–103.

90. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 300. Voltaire found "southern" savages like the Hottentots, Brazilians, and Caribs the most offensive; see David, "Voltaire et les Indiens," 98–102.

91. For Buffon's ideas, see Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 226.

92. Ibid., 280; see also Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind,* 216–17.

93. Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire,* 28.

94. Claude Helvétius, *Oeuvres complètes,* 14 vols. (Paris: Didot l'ainé, 1795), 3:247–48.

95. Ibid., 2:86–87.

96. Ibid. For a radical critique of Enlightenment anthropology, see James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), ch. 2.

97. The two books referred to are Bissell's *American Indian* and Fairchild's *Noble Savage.* For La Hontan's influence on English images, see Marshall and Williams, *The Great Map of Mankind,* 200.

98. Daniel Defoe, *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe,* ed. J. Donald Crowley (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 165–66.

99. Ibid., 165, 166, 182; see Maximilian Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 11.

100. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe,* 170, 171.

101. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 185–87.

102. J. A. Downie, "Defoe, Imperialism, and Travel Books," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 13 (1983): 66–83.

103. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe,* 212.

104. Ibid., 223; see also *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe,* in Daniel Defoe, *Romances and Narratives,* ed. George Aitken, 16 vols. (New York: AMS Press, 1974) 3:115–16.

105. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe,* 200–203.

106. Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 210.

107. Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe,* 211–12.

108. Ibid., 208.

109. Ibid., 211–12; however, in *Serious Reflections,* 3:115–16, Crusoe says that Caribs eat no other human creature except war captives.

110. In *Serious Reflections,* 3:116, Crusoe does say that besides their cannibalism, "those savages were as human, as mild, as gentle as most I have met with in the world, and as easily civilized."

111. James Boswell, *Life of Johnson,* ed. G. B. Hill, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–64), 3:267–68.

112. Johnson said that in "America there is little to be observed except natural curiosities"; cited in Thomas Curley, *Samuel Johnson and the Age of Travel* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 81; see also 1–4, 21–22, 84.

113. Boswell, *Life of Johnson,* 2:12.

114. Ibid., 2:73.

115. Ibid., 1:437.

116. Ibid., 3:246.

117. Ibid., 4:308.

118. Edwards, *The history, civil and commercial,* vii, ix, xii, xiii.

119. Ibid., 1:31–33.

120. Ibid., 1:56.

Conclusion

1. For this estimate of the "Yellow" Carib population of Dominica in 1763, see Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 78. Michael Craton's estimate of less than one thousand, based only on English sources, is far too high; Craton, *Testing the Chains,* 361, n. 5. See also Peter Hulme, "The Rhetoric of Description: The Amerindians of the Caribbean within the Mode of European Discourse," *Caribbean Studies* 23 (1990): 36–37.

2. Craton, *Testing the Chains,* 206; Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 263; Nancie L. Gonzalez, *Sojourners of the Caribbean: Ethnogenesis and Ethnohistory of the*

Garifuna (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 23.

3. Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 78; Craton, *Testing the Chains,* 47; Bernard Marshall, "The Black Carib–Native Resistance to British Penetration into the Windward Side of St. Vincent, 1763–1773," *Caribbean Quarterly* 19 (1973): 4–19; Gonzalez, *Sojourners of the Caribbean,* 17.
4. See Gonzalez's *Sojourners of the Caribbean.*
5. For the Black Carib wars, see Craton, *Testing the Chains,* 146–53, 204–11; Gullick, *Myths of a Minority,* 77–98; Douglas M. Taylor, *The Black Caribs of British Honduras* (New York: Werner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, 1951); and Nancie Gonzalez, "New Evidence on the Origin of the Black Carib," *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids—New West India Guide* 57 (1983), 143–73. Contemporary accounts from the settler viewpoint are Young, *Account of the Black Charaïbes,* and Charles Shephard, *An historical account of the island of St. Vincent* (London: W. Nicol, 1833).
6. The "Yellow" Caribs of St. Vincent suffered grievously from an eruption at Soufrière in 1812; see Craton, *Testing the Chains,* 206. An 1853 estimate suggests that about 125 Caribs remained at Dominica; Leon Thomas, "La Dominique et les derniers Caraïbes insulaires," *Cahiers d'outre-mer* 6 (1953): 49. For the contemporary estimate of Carib population on Dominica, see Myers, *Amerindians of the Lesser Antilles,* vi. In his *Research Guide to Dominica,* xix, Myers gives an estimate of 2,000.
7. See especially Gullick's fascinating *Myths of a Minority.* Many of the numerous works of Douglas M. Taylor are listed in the bibliography, and a complete list is available in Myers, *A Research Guide to Dominica.* For a fascinating discussion of how Europeans "rediscovered" the Carib "remnant" at Dominica in the nineteenth century, see Hulme, "The Rhetoric of Description," 35–47.
8. See the observations of Hulme in "The Rhetoric of Description," 35–47.

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